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# HUMAN MIGRATION & THE FUTURE

A STUDY OF THE CAUSES, EFFECTS & CONTROL  
OF EMIGRATION

BY

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## INTRODUCTION

**E**MIGRATION during the past century has been one of the most effective agencies in the betterment of the world. The population of the world is estimated as having been 700 million in 1800, and as being 1900 million to-day. Yet its inhabitants are maintained in greater ease and comfort than were one-third of the number a century ago. For years after 1820 the European industrial districts were tortured by poverty, and were seething with discontent; and famine appeared inevitable owing to the waning yield of the exhausted soils. The situation was saved largely by emigration and the settlement of the surplus people of Europe in new lands which provided ample additional food and expanded markets, and so raised the supporting power of the famine-threatened countries. England and Wales, for example, were thus enabled to raise their population from 12 million to 38 million; that of Europe has risen from 175 million in 1800 to 450 million in 1920.

The need of emigration has not yet ceased. The War has impoverished many countries, and populations which they could once support have become excessive. Large tracts of fertile, well-watered land, still lie idle; and if they were tilled the overcrowded countries of the Old World might maintain an even larger population in still further improved conditions. For such areas to be adequately used emigration of Europeans is necessary to America, Australia, and parts of Africa, and of Asiatics from the densely to the sparsely peopled parts of Asia.

The value of emigration has, however, often been denied. According to one school it does not permanently relieve



over-population or cure unemployment, nor add numerically in the long run to the population of the country in which the migrants settle. Emigration is restricted by some countries, such as Italy, from fear of the loss of military strength. The greatest of immigration countries, the United States, alarmed lest its national unity should be weakened owing to the tenacity with which the immigrants cling to their national ideas and habits, is threatening to close its frontiers altogether to those from Europe. The apprehensions of the countries that are expected to harbour the surplus population of Europe and Asia are not being allayed by the efforts of some European states to use migration for the establishment of alien colonies in other dominions. Such proposals have been advanced by Italy and are included in the new Lithuanian scheme to reduce what it regards as "the catastrophic loss" of its manhood by emigration.

The natural consequences of the suppression of human migration would include, to the old-established countries, over-population, the demoralization due to poverty and unemployment, and the adoption, as the simplest remedy, of rigorous birth control. The newer countries would suffer by the slower advance in the settlement of their unused land, by the production of less food and raw material for export, by less profit or prospect of profit from their railways, and by a decline in the purchasing power of Europe. Already some countries regard the risk of over-production as the main argument against immigration; Australia, for example, is considering the prevention of any extension of its dried fruit farming until the export market has increased. But the wool, wheat, and meat-producing countries would suffer as badly if Europe could not afford to buy as by their production of more than Europe could use.

The reduction of the population by birth control is more likely to affect the European than any other race, and thereby increase its present inferiority in number to the



coloured races. The closing of the unoccupied areas would also weaken the European race by increased friction and jealousy between the nations that have more land than they can use and those that have more people than they can provide with homes and land.

Countries with dwindling exports and a growing population have no immediate alternatives except increased misery and birth control, or emigration, which, by the cultivation of unused land, would raise the supporting power of the world.

Fortunately the facts stated in the following chapters show that the latter alternative is practicable, that migration has been beneficial to both the countries which lose and those that receive the wanderers, and that there is still ample room in the temperate regions for emigrants from Europe. The problem of European settlement in the tropics is not considered here, as it is discussed in a companion volume, "The Menace of Colour—a study of the association of White and Coloured Races, with special Reference to White Colonization in the Tropics," issued in 1925. Though the settlement of Europeans in the tropics appears physically possible, it is not likely to be carried out on a large scale until the temperate lands are more fully occupied.

The literature on Migration is extensive, and much information is scattered through newspapers and parliamentary reports. Most of the special books on the subject have been published in the United States, and many of them are referred to in the footnotes. The British literature on the subject is comparatively scanty. Valuable collections of data have been published by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, including the "Report of the International Emigration Commission," 1921; "Emigration & Immigration; Legislation & Treaties," 1922; "Migration Movements," 1920-24 (Series O, No. 2, Geneva, 1926); "Notes on Migration" for December 1921 to 1923,

in the "International Labour Review," for 1924-25 in the "Industrial and Labour Information"; and since 1926, in the "Monthly Record of Migration" (Vols. I and II). These notes are rendered more useful by an "Index of Notes on Migration 1922-25," Geneva, 1926. A detailed bibliography, mainly of American literature and especially useful for its reference to official and periodical literature, is included in R. L. Garis' "Immigration Restriction," 1927, pp. 355-71. The leading United States Acts are reprinted in A. L. McLean's "Modern Immigration."

I gladly express my thanks to the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the United States for his courtesy in supplying me with some unpublished statistics and information; to the Agent-General for West Australia for the loan of reports on Group Settlement in Western Australia, and to the High Commissioner for Canada for recent statistics as to Canadian Immigration.

Migration statistics are often uncertain owing to the differences in definition and between the records of the countries concerned. Some inconsistencies occur in the figures quoted in this work, but they are of minor importance and have been left as they indicate the reliability of the figures.

It has been my lot to see emigrants under diverse conditions in different parts of the world, and to have been engaged on errands which required careful consideration of migration problems. The interest in the subject thus acquired doubtless led to the invitation that occasioned the preparation of this book. It has been written in the belief that widespread consideration of the complex and conflicting issues of migration is needed for their peaceful settlement.

J. W. GREGORY.

30th November, 1927



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# Human Migration & the Future

## CHAPTER I

### The Migration Problem

"I will arise and go now, and go to Innisfree,  
And a small cabin build there, of clay and wattles made ;  
Nine bean rows will I have there, a hive for the honey bee,  
And live alone in the bee-loud glade.

And I shall have some peace there, for peace comes dropping slow,  
Dropping from the veils of the morning to where the cricket sings ;  
There midnight's all a glimmer, and noon a purple glow,  
And evening full of the linnet's wings."

W. B. YEATS.

**P**EACEFUL mass migration during the century between the Napoleonic and the Great Wars has redistributed the foundations of political power. The European race has extended its control over all but a ninth of the habitable land on the earth, and has secured full occupation of North America and Australia. These conquests have been achieved by peaceful penetration on a scale far greater than the migrations which overwhelmed the ancient Empires. Between 1820 and 1925 thirty-three million people have crossed the Atlantic and settled in the United States. The invaders who overthrew the Roman Empire and gave eastern Europe its Slavic and Mongolian inhabitants were comparatively few. According to Julius von Pflugk-Hartung<sup>1</sup> the Longo-

bardi who entered Italy numbered only 50,000 to 60,000, the Burgundians who reached the Rhine 80,000, and the Visigoths 300,000 people with 50,000 fighting men. The Vandals, of whom the records are most reliable, landed in Africa only 80,000 strong.

The great migrations of 1820-1925 included the colonization of Australia and New Zealand, and the strengthening of the European dominion over South Africa, South America, and India, the extension of European occupation from the Atlantic coast States over the western parts of the United States and Canada, the establishment of important commercial settlements in China, and the foundation of extensive European Crown colonies in tropical Africa.

The population of the United States has increased between 1820 and 1925 more than tenfold ; it has grown, according to the census returns, from 9,638,000 in 1820 to 105,711,000 in 1920 ; and as the immigrants included a high proportion of the young and active, of ages favourable to a high birth-rate, immigration has been generally regarded as having largely contributed to the present population and prosperity of the United States.

The effects on Europe are generally regarded as also beneficial ; for the removal of so large a contingent from the labour market and the lessening of the numbing effects of over-population, has raised wages and the standards of life, and thereby spread happiness and culture.

Nevertheless this migration, despite its apparent benefit to the countries both of emigration and immigration and a steady natural growth which implies its usefulness, is declared by many authorities to have been so mischievous that it must be stopped, and to have been futile as a remedy for either under- or over-population. The great migration of the century after 1820, we are warned, can never and should never be repeated.

At first sight the beneficent results of free migration appear amply to outweigh the difficulties and minor evils due



to it. The flow of population from areas where it is excessive to areas where it is deficient seems the natural movement toward the more even distribution of mankind, just as the flow of rivers fertilizes one region with the excessive rainfall of another. Too sparse a population has to spend its energies in fighting the forces of Nature, which an adequate population can yoke to its service. An extreme density of population may be demoralizing when the competition for livelihood becomes too severe. The struggle for existence no doubt leads ultimately to the survival of the fittest ; but too intense a struggle leads to deterioration and has doubtless often led to the exhaustion and extinction of the competitors.

Migration relieves overpressure, and by the spread of settlers subdues the waste spaces of the earth and enables each clime to produce its special products for the general service. The more even distribution of population provides foods and commodities in ampler quantities and more varied kinds, it cheapens raw materials, and it eases transport and communications between different parts of the earth. It brings together people of different trainings and tendencies, and so is a valuable educational agency. The transfer of people from where they are a burden to where they are useful is a process indispensable to man's full mastery over the earth.

The most surprising complaint against emigration is that it is no cure for over-population, as it is said to act at once as a stimulus to the birth-rate. It is even more startling to hear that immigration has not increased the number of the American population. "Nearly all the students believe," asserts Lothrop Stoddard,<sup>2</sup> "that if there had been no immigration into the United States since 1800 the population to-day would be larger and better than it is." The same conclusion was emphatically reasserted by Professor East at the World Population Conference in Geneva in September, 1927, and in his recent book.<sup>3</sup> Migration, according

to this view, is not only mischievous mentally, but is futile as a remedy for the unequal distribution of mankind, as instead of relieving over-population it stimulates the birth-rate in the country the emigrants leave and checks the birth-rate in the country to which they go. Some authors<sup>4</sup> have even considered that it has caused a decrease in the immigrant country by leading to the diminution of the birth-rate.

The claim that immigration does not add to population, and that emigration does not lessen it, can only be accepted with a limited application. When a country has as great a population as it can support under the available economic conditions, an inflow of immigrants would necessarily lead to a fall in the natural increase of the population. In some parts of Europe, as in those areas of China which have the astounding density of 6000 inhabitants per square mile, an inflow of immigrants would doubtless lead to a fall either in the local birth-rate or a rise in infant mortality. In other cases, on the contrary, it is equally obvious that immigration increases the population. For example, in the Argentine the population in 1869 was recorded as 1,877,490. It had grown by the year 1924 to 10,000,000, or more than fivefold, and the increase was due mainly to the immigrants. To suggest that immigration does not increase the population in such a case is nonsensical.

That emigration relieves the pressure of population is also clear from the present condition of the British Isles. Approximately as many people are employed in her industries as before the War. The huge number of unemployed represent the excess of population which under pre-War emigration would have gone elsewhere. If the emigration had been maintained it would have relieved the ranks of the unemployed; whereas the great decrease of emigration has not at once checked the population either by any increase of infant mortality or by birth control.<sup>5</sup>

The population of England and Wales, aided by consider-



able immigration from Scotland, Ireland, and the mainland of Europe, increased from 1820 to 1920 threefold (viz. from 12,000,000 to 38,000,000); during the same time the population of the United States increased elevenfold (viz. from 9.6 to 105.7 millions). The industrialization of England has made during this period at least as steady average progress as that of the United States. The view, therefore, that the United States would have increased its population more than 3.7 times as fast as that of England if it had been left to the natural increase of the people resident there in 1820, and that the 33,000,000 immigrants have reduced the American population seems highly improbable.

That immigration may have led to a fall in the Anglo-Saxon birth-rate in America is of course possible; but any actual decrease in population is improbable as the immigrants naturally have a birth-rate above the average.

The steady fall in the birth-rate among the long established elements in the American population is undoubted; but it is part of a change that has affected Europe as well; the actual rate varies with the economic condition and religion of the community; and that it is not due in America to the immigrants is claimed by Dr. Hourwich<sup>6</sup> on the weighty ground that the diminution in birth-rate is most marked among the classes least exposed to immigrant competition. Dr. P. Roberts,<sup>7</sup> whose social service study renders him a weighty authority on this question, concludes that "Immigration is no more the cause of racial suicide than the countryside superstition that a plentiful crop of nuts is the cause of fecundity."

The Migration Policies of the World in the past decade have entered a new stage. Roosevelt declared that the Migration Problem, after that of the Conservation of the Natural Resources, is the greatest that America must solve. The French Socialist statesman, Albert Thomas, in a moving

oration to the World Population Congress at Geneva (2nd Sept., 1927), declared that migration difficulties are preparing the way for a war greater than the last.

The United States has made the most thorough study of the problem, and the results are stated in the best general literature on the problem. This study has led to adoption of the policy that unrestricted immigration can no longer be permitted. American opinion has been influenced by the declarations that if the immigration be continued at the former rate, the Anglo-Saxon element in America would be as extinct as the bison (the American buffalo), that the new immigration contributes largely to American pauperism and crime, and that its addition to the extent of illiteracy is inconsistent with democratic government.

Hence America has withdrawn the invitation engraved on Bartholdi's colossal Statue of Liberty beside New York harbour—"Send us your huddled masses yearning to be free." America has passed a series of acts to limit immigration; this legislation has culminated in the Restriction Acts of 1921 and 1924. This drastic immigration policy has raised new difficulties both in the United States and Europe. In America it has intensified racial feeling by stimulating the Negro immigration into the Northern States. According to Professor East<sup>8</sup> the consequent inflow of Mexican half-castes "is causing the rapid development of new social problems and a new race antagonism in the south-west"; and it is rendering probable an increase in the Negro percentage in the population of the United States. In Europe it has increased the burden of unemployment and rendered necessary the discovery of fresh outlets for the growing population.

Emigration is of primary importance to many European countries, for it may give similar help in the present embarrassments to that afforded before. Emigration eased the position in Ireland when it was famine stricken by the potato disease; and it may provide the easiest relief for

some of our present perplexities. With the fall in the exports of British produce and manufactures from an average of £945,000,000 in the years 1919-21 to a value of £742,000,000 for the average of the years 1924-26, or nearly a quarter, combined with the increase in the population by 2,500,000, with the coal trade hampered by excess of 150,000 workers and with a population estimated by Sir Charles Close<sup>9</sup> as several million more than the country should maintain, unless the British Isles can organize extensive emigration, the alternatives are a serious decline in the standard of living or rigorous birth control.

The use of the vast areas of good land still lying unoccupied may save us facing this dilemma.

<sup>1</sup> J. von Pflugk-Hartung, "Hist. of All Nations," Vol. VI, "The Great Migrations," 1902, pp. 267-8.

<sup>2</sup> T. L. Stoddard, "Rising Tide of Colour," 1920, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. East, "Heredity and Human Affairs," 1927, pp. 273-4.

<sup>4</sup> S. G. Fisher, "Has Immigration increased Population?" "Pop. Sci. Monthly," 1895-6, 1896, pp. 253-4.

<sup>5</sup> The view that a restriction of emigration has led to an equal amount of unemployment was expressed for Sweden at the World Population Congress by Mr. Cederblad, of the Swedish Department of Social Statistics.

<sup>6</sup> I. A. Hourwich, "Immigration and Labour," 1912, p. 226.

<sup>7</sup> P. Roberts, "The New Immigration," 1912, p. 347.

<sup>8</sup> E. M. East, "Heredity and Human Affairs," 1927, p. 270.

<sup>9</sup> Presidential Address to the Geographical Association, "Geography," XIV, 1927, p. 23.



## CHAPTER II

### The General Case Against Migration

"Thou shalt leave everything beloved most dearly ; and this is the shaft which the bow of Exile first lets fly. Thou shalt prove how salt the taste is of another's bread, and how hard a path it is to go down and up another's stair."—DANTE, "Paradiso," xvii, 55.

THE case against Migration is sufficiently strong to have led various countries to legislate for its restriction or suppression. These restrictions are most stringent in the countries that have had most experience of immigration, and may therefore be expected to be best aware of its beneficial effects. Some opponents of immigration denounce it as utterly mischievous—materially and intellectually. The material drawback to the country that receives the immigration on which most stress has been laid is on its lowering of wages and thereby of the standard of living. As regards the United States, the claim that wages have been lowered would have to be based on the conditions before the War, and it has not been substantiated. It is emphatically denied, for example, by Dr. Hourwich<sup>1</sup> and by Dr. P. Roberts,<sup>2</sup> who adds that "the Department of Commerce and Labour, after long and patient investigation ("Bull. Bur. Labour," No. 77, July, 1908), has failed to find a reduction in wage in the industries largely manned by immigrants."

Professor Fairchild, in a judicious summary of the case against unrestricted Immigration, considers that it has prevented wages and the standard of life from rising ; and stagnancy is practically equivalent to a reduction during a

period of rising prices and of increasing complexity of life. Fairchild<sup>3</sup> claims that "each wave of immigration has tended to check the advance of the laboring man already in the country, be they native or foreign." The American Immigration Commission which sat from 1907-11, came to the same conclusion, and so also have Jenks and Lauck.<sup>4</sup>

That a sudden large emigration may raise wages and the standard of living is admitted ; for it inevitably causes a shortage of labour and a rise of wages, and the rates once raised may be maintained permanently at the higher level.

The second objection by organized labour is that the immigrants weaken Labour Unions, as the new-comers do not join them, and may act as strike breakers. Some evidence supports this view and cases are especially numerous for some people such as the Poles ; but others of the new immigrants, such as the Russians, owing to their national habit of obedience, are especially loyal to their organizations, and in many strikes have been the most persistent in their struggle for better conditions. The Slavs, according to P. Roberts,<sup>5</sup> are among the most resolute in the maintenance of high wages and the labour organizations.

The third objection is that the immigrants have increased crime ; and there is some statistical evidence in support of this charge. But crime is not fairly tested by figures alone. It is admitted that the immigrants are less prone to many crimes ; but the Italians in the United States are charged with being the most addicted to personal violence. The catalogue of crime recorded against some nationalities is lengthened because they regard punching a woman when the dinner is badly cooked as the appropriate punishment. The tendency of Italians to murder is due to the national tradition that the individual should avenge his own personal wrongs ; and this habit would doubtless be dropped as soon as people fully trust for protection to the local law.

## 26 The General Case Against Migration

This tendency to murder, though intolerable under modern conditions, does not indicate a thoroughly bad moral nature. Statistics are misleading if they do not distinguish between murder as an act of vengeance and as a means of theft. "Murder," says a Chinese proverb, "is sometimes excusable—rudeness never"; and murder as the punishment of some personal wrong may indicate high-souled courage and not a criminal nature. Many of the legal offences which increase the foreign-born proportion are against municipal regulations and are due to ignorance, difference in habits, and a lower ideal of sanitation; and they are, at any rate, minor sins.

The claim that immigration has increased pauperism has a sounder basis: for immigration throws into a country people who have been raised under different conditions, and are subject to special difficulties and liability to unemployment. The immigrants are naturally poor; they have no reserve funds, few friends, and know less how to find work or maintain themselves when out of work. Many of the immigrants, moreover, send to Europe sums of money, either for the support of their relatives, or for investment so that they may themselves return, or to pay for the journey to America of their friends or their family; and savings thus used are not available in case of a financial reverse.

Professor Fairchild<sup>6</sup> has summarized the evidence, and it shows an excess of pauperism among the foreign-born over the native-born; but in view of the additions made by the immigrants to American wealth, they appear as a whole to have amply paid for their share of the expenditure on pauperism.

Further objections to immigration are based on intellectual deterioration attributed to it. One serious feature is the increase in illiteracy. Many of the immigrants can neither read nor write, and they fail to secure a good education for their children. It was found in the training



camps when America entered the War that 24·9 per cent of the recruits were illiterate, and could not understand their orders when given in English. Under the influence of "war-psychology" these discoveries led to such legislation as that which in the State of Ohio prohibited the use of any language other than English in the presence of four other persons. Hence a French Canadian who had settled in Ohio could speak French to his wife and two children, but not if a servant were also present.

Amongst other intellectual handicaps charged against immigration is the alleged lack in inventiveness and ingenuity. American contributions to the mechanical arts are so varied and important that this effect is not apparent to the casual observer.

The objections to immigration based on its alleged demoralizing effect on American race and character are the most fundamental, though the most difficult of proof.

The claim that American physique has deteriorated owing to interbreeding with the immigrants is not borne out by the statistics of American stature and weight, and the records of athletic prowess. Whether the intermixture of the alien stock has helped or hindered the increased physical fitness of the American people is a problem on which opposite opinions may be formed; but it has unquestionably not prevented a steady improvement in physique. If the alien influence has been unfavourable it has been so overpowered by the healthful conditions of American life that the argument is of no effect.

A more weighty consideration is that based on the tendency of the immigrants to remain in alien groups, which weaken the national cohesion of the United States. The foreign element is a little over one-third in the American population;<sup>7</sup> and in some of the New England States and New Jersey there are two foreigners to every one of native parentage.<sup>8</sup> The aliens form a high proportion

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of the population, and if they were not assimilated might prove a source of national weakness. In some cities the foreign element is still higher, and according to a prediction quoted on page 100, Chelsea, Massachusetts, will have a no higher population of Americans than Chelsea in Middlesex. "We [U.S.] have become a heterogenous nation of mixed races," says J. D. Davis. Another American author, F. Kellor,<sup>9</sup> deplotes that "America is a country which is just awakening to the fact that it is not a nationality but a mixture of nationalities."

The 1920 Census<sup>10</sup> of Continental United States (i.e. exclusive of Alaska and the islands) returned the population as :—

Native parentage	.	.	.	.	.	58,421,957
Foreign parentage	.	.	15,694,539			
Foreign-born parentage	.	.	13,712,754			
						<hr/>
Mixed native and foreign parentage	.	.	.	.	.	29,407,293
	.	.	.	.	.	6,991,665

For three New England States the proportion of these elements in the population are as follows :—

	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	Massachusetts.
Native parentage	. 173,553	449,206	1,230,773
Foreign parentage	. 182,660	421,133	1,093,258
Foreign - born white parentage	. 173,499	376,513	1,077,534
Mixed native and foreign parentage	. 64,268	111,880	401,959

The general effects of immigration on America were investigated in detail by the Immigration Commission, which sat from 1907 to 1911, and in 1912 published its Report and evidence in forty-one volumes. The Commission

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consisted of three members of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives, and three citizens appointed, one each by the President and the Presidents of the two Chambers. This Commission concluded that free immigration was excessive, and that it should be restricted. Its conclusions have been adversely criticized. Thus Dr. Hourwich, after a discussion of its conclusions,<sup>11</sup> declares "the bulk of its Report on Immigrants in Industries valueless or misleading";<sup>12</sup> and he maintains that its essential conclusions are contradicted by its own statistics.<sup>13</sup> The fact, however, that the Report of this Commission led to legislation limiting immigration shows that its verdict was widely accepted.

Professor Fairchild, in a judicious discussion of the arguments for and against the continuance in America of unrestricted immigration, insists that though its good effects are obvious and superficial, others, which are easily overlooked, may render it as much a curse as a blessing. Even from the point of view of the immigrant, though he recognizes that the advantages may outweigh the drawbacks, he concludes that the net margin of advantage may be more specious than real, and that as regards true values an immigrant may find himself in a more pitiable case than that from which he has fled. He questions how many of the immigrants improve their position in the things that are "really worth while"; he believes that though the abler of them gain in material wealth, most of them suffer terrible hardships and losses.<sup>14</sup>

The effect of Migration on the emigrant country is simpler, and appears at first sight to be wholly beneficial. The immigrants in America send large remittances to their former country. Charles F. Speare<sup>15</sup> estimated that the immigrants remitted to Europe 250 million dollars a year. The Italians sent most in the aggregate, amounting to 70 million dollars a year, or 30 dollars a head. The Greeks sent most per head, or 50 dollars each. American opinion might



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deplore this drain ; but some of the authorities who regret it insist that nothing should be done to prevent the settlers discharging any definite or even moral obligation upon them.

It is claimed that these remittances are on the whole harmful to the countries that receive them. Fairchild doubts whether it is healthy for a nation to be largely supported by money gifts from abroad. The remittances sent home by the emigrants are said to raise prices and affect the international exchange, so that the effect of the money is neutralized.<sup>16</sup> Speare recognizes that the remittances are useful. He<sup>17</sup> says that the people who receive the grants are raised by them from "wretched penury to at least moderate comfort," and that the money educates the young and cheers the declining years of the old. But Speare regards the effects as partly mischievous, as the evidence they afford of high wages in the United States makes the people discontented and they refuse to work for the old wages ; prices are raised, especially for land. He says that the remittances have been particularly demoralizing in Greece.

The effect of the returned immigrants is also a mixture of good and bad. People repatriated after many years in America take back with them knowledge of better conditions of work ; they introduce labour-saving machinery, and raise the mental level by their broader experience and outlook on life. Nevertheless some opponents of immigration claim that the effect is on the whole pernicious, and that "the evil influences exerted by the returned immigrant largely outweigh the good." According to Speare<sup>18</sup> he squanders his money in the taverns, increasing drunkenness, disease, crime, and insanity. Fairchild, after a study of Greek migration, describes the returned Greek by his example of laziness, and scorn of hard work, and the new vices he takes back as increasing unrest, discontent and misery. The returned emigrants are described as demoralizing "misfits in the old environment."<sup>19</sup>

The effects of emigration are also unsatisfactory in Italy,

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according to Professor Fairchild.<sup>20</sup> He quotes Antonio Mangano, "that emigration, great as it has been, has not decreased the population of Italy, which, on the contrary, is larger than ever. He does not say that the rate of increase has been as great as it would have been without emigration, nor could this be proved." Though Mangano admits that some of the results of immigration and of the returned immigrants are beneficial, he draws a gloomy picture of its many evil results. Much land is going out of cultivation; prices and the cost of living have increased; women are driven to hard labour in the fields, with an already observable physical injury to the rising generation; families are broken up and there is a tendency to moral degeneracy; prostitution and infanticide have increased; children are undisciplined, and "tuberculosis, almost unknown in Italy before emigration, is spreading rapidly." "Many of the young men who return bring back vices with them, and serve as a demoralizing example while they remain."<sup>21</sup>

Fairchild<sup>22</sup> concludes regarding emigration that "the favourable effects are, in general, the more obvious and immediate ones. They are the ones which catch the eye of the traveller or the superficial observer. They are the ones which appear to have particularly impressed the Immigration Commission, as evidenced by their seemingly hasty review of conditions on the other side" [i.e. in Europe]. He continues that "the movement is at least of doubtful benefit to the countries of source. The obvious beneficial results are partially if not wholly offset by certain undesirable consequences, insidious and persistent in their nature, and likely to make themselves more manifest with the passage of years."

The decision between the rival views on migration is difficult, as many of the arguments depend on the contrast between people in their old and new homes, and that contrast can seldom be made. The fact that the migration has

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long continued, and that if unhampered it probably would progress at an accelerated pace, indicates that the migrants themselves are satisfied with the change they have made. Much stress has been laid on the claim that, whereas in the older days the migrants were men who emigrated in spite of great difficulties and at their own initiative, the bulk of the recent emigrants were persuaded into emigration by agents of the transport and shipping companies. The great migration has been so profitable to those companies that they are naturally anxious it should continue, and they encourage it;<sup>23</sup> but the most effective canvassers for emigration have been those who have emigrated and have found their conditions so improved that they have persuaded and helped their relatives and friends to follow.

The view that the returned emigrant is a source of demoralization is not that of the Italian Government, which reports that the Sicilians who have come back from America are a most satisfactory and useful influence; and it is not the impression that I have formed from observations in various European countries of men who had returned after service in America.

I have had numerous opportunities of seeing immigrants and returned immigrants, and have enjoyed their hospitality and conversation, in various parts of the world. Many recollections come back to me of nights spent in the back-blocks of Victoria, Canada, and elsewhere, talking with settlers on their experiences; and though they often referred wistfully to home and regret that they could not revisit it, I have seldom met anyone who regretted their migration.

My own impression is that the effects of migration on both the countries whence the migrants come and whither they go are, under present conditions, highly beneficial, and that the evils attributed to it are exaggerated and overdrawn. Migration has been neither so futile for good, nor so productive of mischief, as its critics have maintained.



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The Future of Migration is, however, uncertain, as some of the great countries with a density of population which may be regarded as low (i.e. below fifty to the square mile), may restrict immigration within narrow limits. The United States is genuinely alarmed at the disunity of its population, and is determined to secure greater homogeneity by reducing any fresh intermixture of the foreign element, and by acting as a "melting pot" upon the elements already admitted. Australia on its part is determined to avoid the difficulties with which the United States is now embarrassed, especially as, owing to its remoteness and isolation, the same conditions would be there a source of greater danger. Canada recognizes that with a bi-national population of two to the square mile, the British majority could easily be swamped by uncontrolled immigration. The overcrowded countries of Europe are beginning to understand that unless they maintain the emigration which formerly balanced their excess production of population they will be harassed by unemployment, and their industries will be handicapped by heavy expenditure on relief and doles; and ultimately rigorous birth control will reduce the European race to an even smaller minority than it is at present, and will especially lessen the numbers of those north-western Europeans to whom, in recent centuries, has been due most of the world's material and intellectual advancement.

<sup>1</sup> I. A. Hourwich, "Immigration and Labour," 1912, pp. 19, 23, 378, 381.

<sup>2</sup> P. Roberts, "New Immigration," 1912, p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," 1911, p. 395.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, "The Immigration Problem," 1912, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Roberts, "The New Immigration," 1912, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," 1911, pp. 311-28.

<sup>7</sup> Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1925, No. 48, 1926, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> J. D. Davis, "Russian Immigration," 1922, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> F. Kellor, "Immigration and the Future," 1920, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1925, No. 48, 1926, p. 10.

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<sup>11</sup> I. A. Hourwich, "Immigration and Labour," 1912, pp. 48-60; also pp. 495-8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325-9.

<sup>14</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," 1911, pp. 428, 430.

<sup>15</sup> C. F. Speare, "What America pays Europe for Immigrant Labour," "North Amer. Rev.," Vol. 187, 1908, pp. 106-16.

<sup>16</sup> Fairchild, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 422.

<sup>17</sup> Speare, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> Fairchild, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 423.

<sup>20</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," 1911, pp. 423-4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 425-6, 427.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the speeches of their representatives at the International Emigration Commission, Geneva, 1921, pp. 29-32.

## CHAPTER III

### Some Essential Definitions

“No man is ever lost on a straight road.”—AKBAR.

**N**ATIONAL migrations under most conditions are of three chief kinds—those between members of different races, between members of the same race in different continents, and between the residents in different parts of the same continent. The distinctions require the definition of various terms. The numerous technical difficulties due to the difference in definition of migration terms were remarked by the International Emigration Commission at Geneva.<sup>1</sup>

The term Race is used in connection with this problem with various meanings. It may mean (1) the whole human family as in speaking of the human race : or (2) one of the primary subdivisions of mankind, such as the Mongolian Race, Negro Race, and Caucasian Race : or (3) a section of mankind, such as the European Race, which is based on the same general culture combined with certain common physical characteristics such as colour ; such a race is predominantly composed of one of the three primary subdivisions of mankind, but it may have absorbed members of the others ; thus the Hungarians and Finns are included in the European Race, but not the Lapps, who are more primitive and maintain a nomadic life : or (4) members of a single nation or even section of a nation as when used for the English, Scottish, and Welsh Races. The term may be used in each of these senses in the same book. Thus Pro-



fessor Fairchild<sup>2</sup> refers to the human race, to the Caucasian Race, to the English Race, and the Italian Race.

As one of the main issues on which migration is judged is the extent to which racial interbreeding is deleterious, the term race should be used with one definite meaning. The analogy with biological usage and the general connotation imply that a race is more than a national group. Some ethnographers regard mankind as composed of three or more species; and the difference in the hair between the Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negro would unquestionably be regarded as specific by a systematic zoologist who was studying only the skins. Nevertheless, as all sections of mankind are fertile when crossed and give rise to fertile offspring, the general opinion is in favour of referring all existing men to one species.

As the term race is used for a smaller group than a species, there is much to be said for restricting its use to the three primary divisions of the human species—the Caucasian, Mongolian, and the Negro. But for many purposes this usage is inconvenient as the Caucasians include not only most of the people of Europe, but many of those in South-West Asia and in North Africa, the Ainu of Japan, the Polynesians, and the Australian aborigines. The race is divided into two sections, the white Caucasians or *Xanthochroii*, to use Huxley's term, who include the fair people of Northern Europe; and the *Melanochroii* or Dark Caucasians, who include the dark-hued South Europeans and also the Arabs, Jews, Persians, Aryans of India, the long-haired tribes of Northern and North-Eastern Africa, including the Berbers, Moors, Nubians, Sudanese, Somali, Galla, etc. Objection is often taken to the extension of the name of a fair people in the Caucasus to those who are neither fair nor dwellers in the Caucasus; and it is certainly not satisfactory when applied to the dark people in Southern India and the Somali. The word Mongolian is open to the same objection, as it is applied not only to the yellow long-

haired people of Mongolia, but to the fairer Hungarians, Finns, and Lapps, the darker tribes of Southern China and Indo-China, and so-called "Red Indians" of America. The word Negro is also, to some extent, inappropriate and misleading, as it is used for the short woolly-haired people of Africa and New Guinea and the adjacent islands; but it is modified from its original meaning as it does not cover the blackest of the African races, such as the Sudanese with his "'ayrick 'ead of 'air," and the Moor, who, as the "blackamoor," is the typical blackman of popular literature.

The term race is inappropriate for nations founded on territorial boundaries or for sections of nations; but when authors speak of the English, Scottish, and Welsh "Races," they are usually laying stress on physical affinities rather than on political relations.

If the term race be used for the great cultural sections of mankind it is concurrent to a large extent with the three primary divisions—Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negro.

The races of importance in regard to immigration problems are (1) the European, including the fair Caucasians, some of the Dark Caucasians, and some physically Europeanized Mongols, such as the Hungarians; (2) the Dark Caucasians of Asia and Africa, including the Semitic and Hamitic people, the Aryans of India, and the Polynesians who supply much of the labour in the Pacific; (3) the Mongolians of Asia, including the Chinese, Japanese, Malays, and the Hova of Madagascar; (4) the American Indians, who are a section of Mongolians and are of political importance only in South and Central America and Mexico; (5) the Negroes, including the Papuans and Melanesians.

Intermarriage between any of these races should be regarded as likely to be deleterious. That hybrid offspring are almost certain to be inferior may be regarded as established only for those between the three primary divisions, Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negro; and even between them,

as they are admittedly sections of one species, it is not surprising that occasional individuals of mixed race should be of exceptional ability. In such cases one or both of the parents were themselves of mixed race, and the family had lived for generations under Europeanized conditions. Men like Dumas show that some Negro and European progeny are of the highest intellectual ability. America to-day benefits from many brilliant men who are of mixed Negro-European ancestry. These exceptional instances arise where the two races have long lived side by side.

The recognition that all the three races are sections of one species shows there is no absolute division between them; the hair characteristic is the most constant physical difference, but the anti-kink hair-washes advertised extensively in America indicate the widespread belief there that the shape of the hair in the Negro can be altered. Accordingly, although interbreeding between members of different races produces as a rule inferior offspring, this rule may not hold absolutely, and is most likely to be broken on the intermarriage of Dark Caucasians and Mongolians who have long lived side by side under similar conditions.

Interracial distinctions are the less easily determined as colour is no test of race, for some Dark Caucasians, such as the Somali, are blacker than many Negroes. The uniformity of tint of the Indian throughout America shows that colour is not determined only by climate.

The terms connected with Migration are so variously used that their definition is also important.

**Migration** may be defined as a movement of people for permanent or prolonged settlement from one country or continent to another. It includes Emigration, such a movement out of a country, and Immigration, such a movement into a country.

An **Emigrant** is a person who leaves his country of residence to settle in another. The term is, however, used in various ways in the laws of different countries. According



to the definitions adopted by Austria, Denmark, Italy, Spain, and Great Britain, the term is limited to people moving from a European to a non-European country. According to the laws of Australia, Canada, France, Germany, and Portugal, an emigrant is any person going from that state to any other.

The term is often regarded as disparaging and derogatory, like the Indian objection to the use of the word native for a member of any of the indigenous people of India. Hence British official usage restricts the name emigrant, in the case of British subjects, to those going from a British to a non-British area. Removal to a British territory is Overseas Settlement. A person moving from one part of the Empire to another is an Overseas Settler. This terminology is not adopted throughout the Empire. Australian law defines an emigrant as anyone leaving Australia permanently.

The term is subject to various economic restrictions; thus according to some definitions it is limited to those who move on their own initiative and are unaided by their Government or any society or corporation. Thus Fairchild<sup>3</sup> states that either emigration or "immigration is a movement of people, individually or in families, acting on their own personal initiative and responsibility, without official support or compulsion, passing from one well-developed country (usually old and thickly settled) to another well-developed country (usually new and sparsely populated) with the intention of residing there permanently."

In some countries the terms emigrant and immigrant are applied only to passengers by the second or third classes. In some cases it is applied only to steerage passengers.

Emigration, in opposition to the Australian meaning, is often understood to be a movement from an old-established, well-settled country to one that is less developed; the reverse movement, according to some definitions, is not counted as emigration.

**Immigrant:** a person entering another country to settle there may be regarded as an immigrant. The term is liable to the corresponding variations with that of emigrant; it may mean a person entering from any other country, or only from a different continent, or from a different Empire. Tourists are excluded from the category of immigrants in some countries, as in the United States and Australia; but visitors who may make an indefinite, though not necessarily a long stay, are included as immigrants. According to the law of Argentina a man is not classified as an immigrant if he is over sixty years old; and there is sound common sense in that rule.

Various fanciful restrictions on these terms are also imposed. Thus Professor Abbott<sup>4</sup> of Harvard, in order to separate the old settlers in America from the new, states, "It is sometimes said that our English ancestors were only earlier immigrants. That is not true. There is all the difference in the world between a pioneer and an immigrant."

It may seem unnecessary to apply the term immigrant to a person who moves into an adjacent country. A man moving from Scotland to settle in England, or from Sweden to Norway, would not usually be regarded as an emigrant. But if the move is intended to be permanent change of residence, it amounts to a short-distance migration. The movement of Italians into France is accordingly classified as immigration. According to French statistics the Spaniards who make short visits to France for the harvest are classified as immigrants one month and as emigrants a few months later.

**Inter.** This prefix in the words interracial, intercontinental, and international is used for relations between different races, continents, or nations. Interracial breeding is between members of different races. Racial breeding, on the contrary, is within one race.

There are three main movements of population which have to be considered in reference to migration—inter-racial, intercontinental, and between adjacent countries occupied by the same race.

1. Interracial migration is the entrance into one country of people of a different race, such as the Chinese and Japanese immigration into Western America or Australia or Europe, or Negro immigration into America or Asia; it also includes the movements of Indians into China, and even the extensive immigration of people from Madras into Burma, as the Burmese are Mongolian.

Interracial immigration has been so generally condemned that it has been stopped in most of North America, Europe, and Australia.

The entrance of Chinese is still permitted into Mexico and South America; and as the aborigines of America are Mongolians, it may be held that their intermarriage with Chinese and Japanese is not strictly interracial, as it is not between members of different primary divisions of mankind; but it is interracial according to the classification adopted on page 37.

Interracial migration is also current from India into Burma, which requires a much larger labour supply than its population can provide; the agitation for "Burma for the Burmese" is directed against the introduction of Madrasi, which is an interracial movement. If Burma could provide adequate labour there would be much to be said for the limitation of Indian immigration into that country, as it threatens to swamp and overwhelm an interesting and attractive people.

Interracial immigration is at present limited in extent, and the present tendency is to restrict it still more severely. The immigration of Indians, although they are Dark Caucasians, is prohibited into Canada and the United States from the same considerations as have led to the



exclusion of Chinese ; the objection to them is based on colour antipathy and on the great difference of culture and standards of life.

The three classes of migration—interracial, intercontinental, and between adjacent allied nationalities—cannot be politically separated. For example, the important Negro migration from the Southern to the Northern States during the last ten years is a case of interracial movement within one country.<sup>5</sup> The widespread movement of people in Africa, largely under indentures, to the mining fields of Southern and South-west Africa, brings together people of the same race and continent but subjects of different nations.

Intercontinental overseas migration is the most important of the three classes, and it includes the greatest of modern migrations, that from Europe to the United States, as well as that from Europe to Canada, to the Argentine, and to Australia. This type also includes the movement from China to South America and Malaysia, and that which formerly took place to North America and Australia, and also that which has been conducted from India to East Africa, and, under the regulations for indentured coolie labour,<sup>6</sup> to the West Indies, British Guiana, Fiji, and other South Sea Islands. Interracial immigration has been generally condemned, unless under conditions which prevent interracial mixture, such as rigid indentures ; and as these regulations are often difficult to enforce, interracial migration has been reduced to small limits and is probably only of much practical importance at present in Burma and South and Central America.

<sup>1</sup> Report, 1921, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," 1911, pp. respectively, 1, 130 and 136, 130, 361.

<sup>3</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," 1923, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Wilbur C. Abbott, "The New Barbarians," 1925, p. 224. The people

thus designated are the Socialists. Cf. for the adoption of the Canadian pioneers as immigrants the passage on p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gregory, "The Menace of Colour," 1925, pp. 70-8.

<sup>6</sup> The term "coolie" is said to come from the Chinese words *Koo*, strength, and *lee*, to hire or rent, and means hired labour. Cf. M. R. Coolidge, "Chinese Immigration," 1909, p. 42.

## CHAPTER IV

### Continental Migration. The Problem in France

“When shall I see, when shall I see, God knows !  
My little village smoke ; or pass the door,  
The old dear door of that unhappy house  
That is to me a kingdom and much more ?  
Mightier to me the house my fathers made  
Than your audacious heads, O Halls of Rome !  
More than immortal marbles undecayed,  
The thin sad slates that cover up my home ;  
More than your Tiber is my Loire to me,  
Than Palatine my little Lyré there ;  
And more than all the winds of all the sea  
The quiet kindness of the Angevin air.”

Translation from DU BELLAY by G. K. CHESTERTON.

**M**IGRATION between adjacent countries is usually free from the objections to the mixture of distinct races, and is helpful as the easiest method of dealing with unemployment and providing the labour necessary for new industries or in a country with a diminishing population.

Migration between two countries in the same continent, according to some definitions, is excluded from emigration and immigration ; and Fairchild excludes removal from Russia into Asia. Such migration is often great, both in extent and importance. One leading case is that of France, where, owing to the failure of natural increase of the French people, the population is only maintained by extensive immigration from other parts of Europe ; it comes mainly from Italy, with minor recruitment from Poland and Spain.



The Spanish immigration is a return movement, as part of the depopulation of the Cantal has been due to French emigration to the Spanish towns.

The French labour position<sup>1</sup> is dominated by the great labour shortage due to a high death-rate, diminished birth-rate, and the increase in manufacture and mining owing to the pre-War exports having been almost doubled.

The United States Restriction Acts were followed by a large increase of European immigration into France; thus the Italian immigration increased from an average of 48,428 for the years 1920-21 to 80,845 per annum from 1922-25; and the number of Italians resident in France in 1925 amounted to 807,655. The Polish immigration for the same years increased from 13,838 to 40,788, and that of the miscellaneous nationalities (i.e. nations other than Italians, Spaniards, Belgians, Poles, Portuguese, Czecho-Slovaks, Russians, and Greeks) from 2513 to 17,312. The nationalities of the immigrants into France during 1924 and 1925 are as follows ["Monthly Record of Migration," published by the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations, Geneva, Vol. II, No. 1, January, 1927]:

	1924	1925
Italians . . .	99,155	55,031
Spaniards . . .	38,960	19,005
Belgians . . .	40,256	46,787
Poles . . .	41,014	30,634
Portuguese . . .	6,715	6,008
Czecho-Slovaks . . .	10,340	6,127
Russians . . .	4,359	1,915
Greeks . . .	903	311
Miscellaneous . . .	23,650	10,443
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	265,352	176,261

M. Poincaré is quoted as having declared that "the number of foreigners employed in France only equals the

number of our dead." If he meant those lost in the War he is not to be taken literally, as the number of foreigners in France in 1925 was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million, and the French dead and missing in the War were 1,257,000. The foreign element in France in 1925 was 6.4 per cent of the total population ; and, in order to maintain the industries and agricultural production, further immigration was being encouraged and organized by the employers' association (*Société Générale d'Immigration*) which imports labour from Central and Eastern Europe, and by an official " *Conseil National de la Main d'Œuvre*," established in April, 1925.

Labour shortage is not a new experience for France ; the development of the Lorraine iron-field was practicable only by employment of Italian labour, supplemented after 1908 by that of many Poles ; and with the steady drift of the French population from agriculture to the towns the depopulation of some parts of France has become as serious as that of the Scottish Highlands. The loss of rural labour is being counteracted by the immigration of Spaniards into the south-western provinces, and of Italians, Belgians, and Swiss elsewhere. Les Charentes (sixteen departments in the south-west of France) lost 430,000 people in 1911-21, despite the colonization of Lot-et-Garonne by Swiss, Belgians, and Italians, and the transfer to the Dordogne of 253,000 people from Brittany, who, but for the United States' restriction, would normally have gone to America.

The inflow of foreigners, though indispensable to France, presents serious problems. In order to secure the satisfactory assimilation of the foreign labourers France, following the example of the Americanization policy of the United States, has established " *Le Foyer Français* " to aid the education and encourage the naturalization of the alien residents. The conditions under which the immigrants live are often least favourable to assimilation, for they tend to segregate in alien colonies on the mining fields, and in some cities, notably Marseilles. There has been much local

agitation against the immigrants, as they have the advantage over French workers as regards temporary unemployment ; for the aliens are usually paid lower wages, they serve under contracts, and if dismissed they would leave the neighbourhood ; hence in case of a temporary shortage of work the local employees are apt to lose their appointments before the foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> See a careful paper by Dr. A. Gould and Sydney Herbert, " France and her Immigration Problems," " Geography," 1927, XIV, pp. 111-22.



## CHAPTER V

# The Right of Migration

"Home no more home to me, whither must I wander?  
Hunger my driver, I go where I must,  
Cold blows the winter wind over hill and heather;  
Thick drives the rain, and my roof is in the dust."

R. L. STEVENSON.

THE right of any person to move from one country to another has been widely regarded as indispensable to personal liberty. Henri Bonfils<sup>1</sup> gives a list of authorities on international law who assert it, including Grotius, Vattel, Kluber, G. F. and F. de Martens, Heffter, Pradier-Fédéré, and Pasquale Fiore. It is expressly stated or is implied by the law of most European States, and is regarded as so natural and inevitable that it is denied by no European country except Russia and now Italy. H. Bonfils concludes,<sup>2</sup> "With the exception of Russia all civilized States now admit the right of emigration as an absolute and imprescriptible right belonging to every individual." "Each State," he however continues, "is absolutely free to restrict within wide or narrow limits, according to its own conditions, the immigration into its territory. It can even prohibit it absolutely, but in order not to be discourteous towards other States the motives of the prohibition or restriction should be based on its legitimate interests, as determined by economic and political reasons."

The right of migration was emphatically proclaimed by the United States in the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which

asserted the right of United States citizens to settle and trade in China. In connection with that Treaty the United States by a Resolution of Congress, 27th July, 1868, declared expatriation "a natural and inherent right of all people indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and action by any official of the United States against this right was pronounced "inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic."<sup>3</sup>

The right was reasserted by the Treaty of Paris at the end of the War of 1914-18, and the subsequent International Conference at Washington, 1919; for they both recognized that to increase the mobility of labour would be the most effective method of mitigating the evils of unemployment. The Labour Parties of Europe have for the same purpose advocated measures to facilitate emigration, to protect immigrants from misrepresentation and fraud, to smooth their journey, and secure them equal rights with the natives in their new home.

The measures proposed for these ends emphasized the different point of view and interests of countries that supply the emigrants and of those that receive the immigrants. This clash of interest was shown at the International Congress on Migration at Geneva in 1921, held under the auspices of the League of Nations and its International Labour Organization, and under the Chairmanship of Lord Ullswater. Two chief countries of immigration, Australia and the Argentine, refused at the outset to join in the Conference; others joined, but their delegates did not attend or resigned on the ground that the questions were regarded too exclusively from the point of view of the emigrant countries.<sup>4</sup>

The countries of immigration have begun to close their doors, and thus to create friction between themselves and those that supply the emigrants. Some countries would closely regulate the amount of immigration or even stop it

altogether, and in either course they would be within their legal powers. For the right of migration is not absolute. It is limited by that of every country both to restrict the emigration of its own subjects and the immigration of aliens. One of the main items in the Charter of the British Empire grants to each community "the right to determine the ingredients of the population."

The right to emigrate is of no use unless accompanied by freedom of entrance to another land. The right of admission to a foreign land is obviously limited by several conditions, for new settlers cannot expect to be welcomed into an overcrowded community.

<sup>1</sup> H. Bonfils, "Manuel de Droit International Publique," 6th edition, 1912, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Mayo Smith, "Emigration and Immigration," 1890, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 165.



## CHAPTER VI

# Limitations on Emigration—as in Russia and Italy

“I will not let thee go  
I hold thee by too many bands;  
Thou sayest farewell, and lo!  
I have thee by the hands;  
And will not let thee go.”

ROBERT BRIDGES.

**T**HE justice of some limitation on both emigration and immigration is universally recognized. Any one of three policies is possible in regard to them. Both emigration and immigration may be free, or restricted, or absolutely prohibited.

Many States prohibit emigration to subjects who have not given their share of service in the national forces, and claim the right to recall emigrants to their army in case of need. The citizens of a country that adopts conscription for national defence have no right to shirk this duty by residence abroad.

Similarly in regard to public civilian service. A State that has reared and educated a man has, if it so desire, a lien on his service, and may fairly require him to repay the cost of his upbringing by work within or for it. A State which has established, for example, a costly system of technical education would be entitled to prevent the scholars entering the territory of some foreign rival and giving its competitor the benefit of this expensive training. Further, a State has the right to prevent any of its people by emigration throwing

on to the community their personal debts or obligations, or the upbringing of their children.

The just restrictions on emigration differ according to the conditions of each country ; but to all is applicable the principle that no citizen has the right to desert his State when it is in danger, or to repudiate his personal liabilities.

Efforts to diminish emigration are made by countries which do not want to lose their citizens, as well as by the countries that do not want to receive them. The regulations to control emigration include four main groups—first, those for the protection of ignorant peasants from misrepresentation and the fraudulent inducement to emigrate ; second, those to discourage assisted emigration ; third, those to avoid wasted journeys by the inspection of emigrants and rejection of the unsuitable in their home country ; and fourth, those involving the direct prohibition of emigration, as by Russia and Italy.

**1. The Suppression of Emigration Touts.** Migration has been a very profitable business to the shipping and transport companies. The annual income from the million emigrants to the United States, and from the 200,000 passengers to Australia amounted to millions of pounds. As the steerage or third class passengers are crowded into small quarters, have simple though well-selected food, and limited attendance, they are profitable passengers. The immigrants, moreover, bring further business to the companies by sending for their friends, and by themselves making occasional visits to Europe. Emigration leads to frequent passages to and fro. Hence the steamship companies naturally favour emigration and actively support it. Their representatives at the International Emigration Commission at Geneva in 1921 recommended that it should be unrestricted.<sup>1</sup>

The emigration agents of the shipping companies usually receive a bonus for every passenger they enlist. They are eloquent and persuasive, and some may have been unscrupu-

lous in describing the glories and rewards of the "promised land." The immigration countries are therefore highly suspicious of these agents and of the people they send. The suitability of an emigrant does not matter to the agent who receives a bonus for enrolling him on the passenger list; and he may be ready to send the waste of the city slums to an agricultural country, and may coach a criminal to dodge successfully the entrance regulations intended to exclude such people. At the International Emigration Commission at Geneva, 1921, there was much outspoken criticism of these over-enthusiastic advocates of emigration. Part of the prejudice felt against the British Government by some representatives of the emigration countries at Geneva is due to the belief that its policy is too much influenced by the shipping interests.

The widespread suspicion of the passenger recruiting agents is shown by the regulations in various countries to curb their activities. The United States, for example, by its Immigration Act of 1917 (Sect. 6 and 7) enacted a fine of a thousand dollars or up to two years' imprisonment on those who solicit immigration, and ordered the Secretary for Labour to prohibit the landing of alien immigrants by any transportation company that persistently stimulates immigration. The United States, moreover, prohibits the encouragement of immigration by advertisement, which it cannot prevent in Europe.

**2. The Discouragement of Subsidized Emigration.** Emigrants sent by Governments, corporations, and philanthropic societies have been regarded with widespread suspicion. Governments found emigration an easy way of disposing of inconvenient subjects, such as political agitators, criminals and paupers, until the immigration countries to which they were sent protected themselves from being used as the dump for the disaffected, incompetent, and criminal. Philanthropic societies may, by the sound training given at such institutions as Dr. Barnardo's homes and Dr. Cossar's



farm, enable boys who might have little chance at home to develop in new surroundings into excellent citizens. There is, however, a tendency for benevolent societies to interest themselves in the less competent people, and those whom they may send are viewed by the immigration authorities with distrust.

The United States, among its disqualifications of immigrants, excludes those whose fare is paid partly or wholly by Governments, societies, corporations, or even by private individuals. But when philanthropists are competent as well as kind, those whom they train may be among the most desirable of settlers. The 2000 children sent annually to Canada from British training homes are so successful that for every one of these young immigrants there are more than ten applicants.<sup>2</sup>

**3. The Inspection of Emigrants in their Home Country.** One of the frequent tragedies of migration has been that of the man who has broken up his home, spent part of his capital on the journey to a distant land, has there been refused admission, and sent back with such of his goods and chattels as were not sold to pay his passage. It is, therefore, a great advantage to emigrants to know before starting whether they are likely to be admitted, so that they can avoid any serious risk of a wasted voyage. They can, therefore, make the journey free from the former terror of Ellis Island.

Ellis Island, the immigration station in New York, though moderately comfortable to British-speaking middle-class emigrants, has been a name of horror to others.<sup>3</sup> The repeated charges against its administration and officials have led to commissions of enquiry as to its methods. When the island has been occupied by polyglot excitable peasants, who are overcrowded owing to the simultaneous arrival of several steamers, the conditions have doubtless been uncomfortable. The maintenance of discipline required sternness; and no gentleness or tact could avoid the announce-

ment of rejection to those who, according to American law were inadmissible, being a cruel and exasperating disappointment. The officers have been accused of roughness and brutality, perhaps owing to difference of manners. In America the desire to be business-like sometimes leads to brusqueness. Where in an English park the public are asked "Please keep off the grass," the American notice is the blunt "Keep Off." Orders given with common-sense brevity are apt to be regarded as dictatorial. The terrifying reputation of Ellis Island was the fault of circumstances and not of the officials.

That improvements have been made in Ellis Island in recent years is indicated by the last Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1926, p. 15. He says that "further efforts to adjust Ellis Island to present-day requirements will continue to be made, and, meanwhile, it is not too much to say that New York has a model immigration station, of which the country may well be proud. Often the object of unfavourable comment in former years, the year just past has witnessed a much more favourable popular attitude toward the station and its management. It is hoped that the term 'Ellis Island' may in time be freed from any unpleasant significance in the thought of our own people and the minds of the new-comers to our shores, and that the greatest immigration station in the United States may realize for itself and for the country its fullest possibilities."<sup>4</sup>

It was long ago recognized that it would be to the advantage of all concerned, by inspection in Europe, to prevent inadmissible immigrants from starting on the enterprise. The arrangement for this inspection roused various diplomatic prejudices against the examination of the subjects of one State in its own land by foreign officials. As it was, however, to the obvious advantage of the emigrants to have the inspection in Europe, these objections have been waived, and the bulk of those who desire to emigrate into the

United States are inspected in their own country. Emigration officials called "technical advisors" are stationed at American Consulates in Britain, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, to advise proposed emigrants, who are also medically inspected in the same countries. This examination is not final, as according to the United States law the emigrant must be examined by the officers of the immigration service at specified ports of entry in the United States. The risk of rejection at these ports has, however, been greatly diminished by the previous inspection, and the grant of a consular immigration visa. For example, the numbers of those who were rejected in the United States who had received the visas from the American Consuls in the year 1925-26 were only two per thousand. Those debarred from admission in the fiscal year of 1926-27 amounted to a total of 19,755; but of these 13,536 were stopped on the Canadian and Mexican frontier for not having the regulation visa; 2679 were stopped for the same reason at the seaports; and of those who had the Consular visa, 1847 were debarred as likely to become a public charge; 353 as illiterate; 308 as they were suffering from contagious disease; 404 as labourers under contract; 160 as criminals; and 240 as physically or mentally defective.<sup>5</sup>

The system of inspection of immigrants in their native land is also adopted by Canada. The final examination is at the Canadian port, but as the inadmissible have been warned off the journey before they begin it, in the year 1922-23, out of 34,508 immigrants from the British Isles, only 98 were rejected at the Canadian ports.<sup>6</sup>

**4. The Prohibition of Emigration.** The fourth method of reducing emigration is by its direct prohibition, as in Russia and Italy.

Russia under the Tsars objected to emigration as it wanted its surplus people to settle in Siberia, which is a territory of great promise and could provide a home for the bulk of



the emigrants from Eastern Europe. The progress of Siberia depends upon its obtaining a larger population. The prisoners in the early stages of the Great War were taken into Siberia in the trains which had carried the East Siberian army to the Western Front. I happened to see in Central Siberia several trains laden with Austrian prisoners who seemed comfortable and were being well cared for, in the hope that they would settle permanently in Siberia. They were promised that, if they stayed in the country, they should have grants of land and a free passage for their womenkind if they would go there after the War.

The Russian objection to emigration was due in part to the loss of the men from military service, and partly to the fear that those who went abroad would become liberal in political opinions, and would either agitate against Tsardom from abroad or return to increase discontent at home. Hence Russia refused to allow its citizens to stay away for more than five years.

A few years before the War this policy was modified, and according to some proclamations the restrictions were waived as the authorities professed themselves confident that all Russians who travelled abroad would be convinced of the selfishness and tyranny of modern democracy. The difficulties in the way of emigration were however maintained until the War, and since the peace they have been even increased.

## ITALIAN EMIGRATION POLICY

Russia was until recently the only European Power which prohibited emigration. Italy was one of the greatest of emigration countries. Italian emigration before the War was the heaviest on the mainland of Europe. From 1911-13 the average number of emigrants was 706,000, or over 2 per 1000 of the population. In 1922-24 the loss by emigration was even greater, and amounted to 2.74 per 1000 of its population. This ratio of emigrants to population was

exceeded only by that in the Irish Free State with 4·52 per 1000 and in Great Britain and North Ireland with 3·27 per 1000.<sup>7</sup> In 1913 the excess of emigrants over immigrants was 200,000, and one-third of the Italian natural increase of population was removed by emigration. In 1914, 283,738 Italians entered the United States. Its restriction acts have reduced this field, and in 1924 and 1925 the Italian emigrants were distributed as follows:—

	1924	1925
To France . . .	231,090	174,445
„ Argentina . . .	69,365	53,331 <sup>7</sup>
„ United States . . .	44,568 <sup>8</sup>	32,400 <sup>9</sup>
„ Belgium and Hol- land . . .	10,210	3,753
„ Australia . . .	4,502	4,816
Total . . .	408,606	312,038
Of which . . .	137,517	207,617 went overseas.

In 1921–23 there was an average reduction in the population of Italy by 170,000 per annum, owing to the excess of emigrants over immigrants. The excess fell to 110,000 per annum from 1924–26. At the end of the War it was feared that the demobilization of the Italian army would cause widespread unemployment, and serious financial and political trouble. A commission was appointed in 1918 to consider the problem, and all its members but one, Professor Gini, head of the Statistical Department at Rome, felt that continued emigration was necessary to avoid disastrous unemployment. The number of unemployed in Europe was rising steadily; it was estimated by the International Emigration Conference at Rome in May, 1924, as 13,000,000,<sup>10</sup> and extra-European emigration from Italy was regarded as a deplorable necessity. The Government expenditure on emigration doubled in the year

1922-23 over the preceding year, and amounted to 15,300,000 lire, most of which was spent on the direct encouragement of emigration, including a considerable grant for the assistance of emigrants abroad.<sup>11</sup> This work was under the Italian Commissioner-General for Emigration, and he was assisted by many charitable organizations, such as the Umanitaria Società, which had emigration offices scattered throughout Italy, and for a time received large grants from various public bodies. In 1924, however, its administrative council was dissolved and the work taken over by the Government Commissioner.

Italy, while feeling bound to help its surplus population to seek employment overseas, was at the same time anxious to maintain its hold over all its emigrants, so that it could obtain their service in time of war and benefit by their expenditure in peace. Italy, therefore, adopted the policy of controlled emigration. Its purpose was to secure the advantages of emigration without the drawbacks, by keeping such control over Italian residents in other countries that they could be called up for military service, would be under the supervision of the Italian Consuls, could be persuaded to send their savings to Italy and to make their purchases there, and so help Italian trade and manufactures. Under these conditions there would be little chance of the settlers becoming real citizens of the country in which they live or being assimilated to its people.

Hitherto Italy has provided a large share of the immigrants into Brazil. Thus in the province of Sao Paulo out of the 2,000,000 immigrants between 1827 and 1921, 872,705 were Italians.<sup>12</sup> With the closing of the United States to them Brazil became still more important, and a draft agreement was framed in 1924 between the two countries. It was, however, not ratified owing to proposals added to it by the Italian Government. Some of the original Italian proposals for the protection of Italian immigrants had been withdrawn, owing to Brazilian objections. A draft agree-



ment was, however, prepared and submitted to the Italian Government; but possibly owing to the rejection of the proposals for Italian protection over immigrants in Brazil, the agreement was not ratified.

Signor Mussolini, while recognizing the importance of Brazil as an outlet for Italian emigrants, declined to sanction extensive emigration there except in exchange for some important Customs concessions. There was also much criticism in Italy of the insanitary conditions in Brazil and the poverty of some of the immigrants. Signor Mussolini accordingly stated that without the desired Customs concessions Italy would discourage emigration to Brazil, and would prevent all attempts to encourage workers to emigrate there; only those would be allowed to go who had an invitation from a near relative resident there, visé by an Italian Consul, and those who might wish to go without any pressure or encouragement; this condition might exclude anybody who expressed any wish to go to Brazil.

The Brazilian authorities declined to connect the emigration agreement with the Customs arrangements. Public bodies in Brazil supported their Government by the declaration that they took no interest in Italian immigration. The projected agreement collapsed.

The President of Brazil<sup>13</sup> subsequently repeated his view that the question might be easily settled. Brazil would welcome immigration "provided that the countries of emigration did not attempt unduly to extend their protection to those of their nationals who immigrated into Brazil."

The objection to controlled emigration led to the breakdown of the agreement, since it was felt that the authority it would give to a foreign Government over residents in Brazil was inconsistent with Brazilian sovereignty.<sup>14</sup> The International Labour Office in its *Monthly Notes on Migration* (Vol. II, No. 3, March, 1927, p. 89), explains the Brazilian attitude as due to the view that, as the "unre-

stricted activity of foreign diplomatic and consular representatives in connection with the protection and assistance of their nationals is incompatible with the sovereignty of an independent State, it would be expedient to have recourse to private organizations as far as possible in this respect."

Another attempt to secure a wide field of emigration was made in an agreement between the Italian Government and Mexico. That country may have had the attraction that the people could thence easily cross the frontier into the United States; but little has come of this agreement, perhaps owing to the subsequently disturbed condition of Mexico.

The Italian emigration position was fundamentally changed by the imposition of the United States quota of 1924, which reduced Italian immigrants to 3845 a year, or 1 per cent of the number admitted before the War. The number that entered in the year 1924-25 was actually reduced to 2758 as, owing to a disagreement between the Italian emigration authorities and the United States, passports to leave Italy were not issued for the full quota; but as at the beginning of 1925 there were 600,000<sup>15</sup> applicants in Italy for permission to emigrate to the United States, the authorities had to waive their objections and give passports for the full available number.

The delay was due to the offer by the United States to examine the applicants in Italy so as to avoid any of them being rejected at the American ports; but this friendly proposal was met by the objection of the Italian Commissioner-General for Emigration that while the United States could regulate the admission of aliens to its territory, it had no right to choose between them while in their own country. The discrimination between Italian subjects in Italy by United States officials, it was held, "would constitute a violation of the national sovereignty of Italy."<sup>16</sup>

The Italian system of emigration, as adopted from

1922-26,<sup>17</sup> was designed to develop Italian colonization in other countries, and while extending the scope of labour treaties to retain control of "the economic, legal, and moral life of the emigrant." This system has been replaced by a keep-your-people-at-home policy, of which the main author and champion has been Professor Gini. He had maintained, almost alone, at the Italian Emigration Commission of 1918, that the loss of so many workers was a serious drain on the wealth of Italy, and that it should be possible to find employment for them at home. Professor Gini has had the gratification of seeing his policy gradually adopted. His cause was helped forward by the closing of the United States to Italian emigrants, as it had once been the chief refuge for emigrants from Sicily and South Italy—the North Italians having mostly gone to South America.

A second support came from the desire to strengthen the Italian colonies, and Mussolini urged his countrymen to settle in Tripoli, Cyrenaica, and Somaliland. The optimistic statements as to the prospects of settlers in Cyrenaica led to the hope that the stream of emigrants would be diverted from America and kept within the Italian Empire. Tripoli and Cyrenaica together are, however, now expected to receive only 300,000 Italians in the next quarter of a century, and that number is not of primary importance.

Another motive for the Italian suppression for emigration comes from recognition of the many obvious advantages of a dense population. It adds to the military strength of a nation; an abundant supply of cheap labour aids industrial progress, and the professional classes profit as they have more clients and patients, and theatres, operas, concerts, and the cinema flourish only in large cities. Further, the Fascist authorities may have been influenced by the feeling that Italians abroad might give an unfavourable representation of Fascism and might support the anti-Fascist party in Italy.



Accordingly, in 1927, rigorous rules were imposed to prevent people leaving Italy. No one can cross the frontier without a passport, which is granted only to *bona fide* tourists, to those who have definite employment outside Italy, or to the near relatives of Italians already resident abroad. No doubt able determined men can escape across the mountain frontiers ; but this method only allows of a slight leakage and not of a steady stream of emigrants. The severity of the application of the passport rules has been illustrated by the murder, in September, 1927, of the Italian Consul in Paris on his refusal to issue a passport to enable an Italian woman to join her husband in Paris.

The object of this migration restriction policy has been clearly stated in a circular issued by Signor Mussolini in May, 1927, and in a speech that he delivered in the Italian Parliament on the 26th of that month. He declared that in order that Italy may have sufficient strength to maintain its position in Europe it must attain a population of 60,000,000 ; that it is therefore necessary to raise the birth-rate, to lower the death-rate, and to restrict emigration, as by every man who emigrates Italy loses a soldier, and all that she has spent on his education and up-bringing. He accordingly instructed the police to issue passports only with the greatest prudence, and to watch the activity of shipping agents, educationalists, and municipal officials who might be suspected of encouraging emigration. Any fraudulent misrepresentation of its advantages is to be bitterly repressed. Every local authority was also instructed to develop its own district by all means in its power, so that each citizen can earn his bread at home and that each province shall retain its youth for the sake of national defence and economic progress.

Italy has abandoned the active encouragement of emigration overseas, except to its own colonies, in favour of its virtual prohibition.

The Italian suppression of emigration is attended with serious international peril. Despite some statisticians this step will probably add to the overcrowding in Italy. Its deliberate purpose is the increase of the population. The probable result will be more extensive emigration to Mediterranean countries which offer a better outlet than the Italian colonies. The Italians in Tunisia already greatly outnumber the French, and the continued growth of the Italian majority there may lead to a difficult position. Italy was promised during the War part of Asia Minor; but that plan has been frustrated by the genius of Kemel Pasha. An attempt to realize Italian ambitions in the Balkans would lead to trouble with Jugo-Slavia, which would probably be supported by Czecho-Slovakia and some Balkan States and, in accordance with the new Treaty (Nov. 1927), presumably by France. The rivalry between Italy and Jugo-Slavia for dominion in the Balkans is reviving acutely the Eastern Question formerly due mainly to the jealousy over the Balkans between Russia and Austria. Europe is again confronted with the danger which occasioned the Great War.

<sup>1</sup> Report Intern. Emigr. Commiss., 1921, pp. 29, 30, 32.

<sup>2</sup> "Canadian Yearbook," 1926, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> For the conditions due to overcrowding, cf. P. Roberts, "New Immigration," 1912, pp. 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> Ann Rep. Com, Gen. Immigr., 1926, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> From data kindly supplied by the Commissioner-General of Immigration of the United States.

<sup>6</sup> "Canada," 1923, p. 226.

<sup>7</sup> "Migration Movements," I.L.O., 1920-4, Geneva, 1926, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> 55,557, *vide* "Mon. Notes Migration," No. 50, pp. 462-7.

<sup>9</sup> The quota fixes a maximum of 3,845; the excess in the above figures, which are quoted from the "Mon. Notes Migration," April, 1926, p. 143, may be explained by passage across the United States land frontiers, desertion of seamen from ships, and the smuggling of immigrants ashore (cf. pp. 113, 183), and a few legitimate non-quota immigrants.

<sup>10</sup> "Ind. and Lab. Inf.," XVI, 1925, p. 56.      <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 1924, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> "Ind. and Lab. Inf.," XIII, 1925, p. 54.

<sup>13</sup> *Diario Oficial*, Rio de Janeiro, 4th May, 1925. Quoted in "Ind. and Lab. Inf.," XVI, Nov., 1925, p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> An account of the Italian and Brazilian discussion of the emigration agreements is given in "Industrial and Labour Information," Vol. XIII, Feb., 1925, pp. 47-54.

<sup>15</sup> "Mon. Rec. Migr.," Vol. II, 1927, p. 206.

<sup>16</sup> "Mon. Rec. Migr.," Vol. II, 1927, pp. 206-7.

<sup>17</sup> "Mon. Rec. Migr.," Vol. II, No. 7, July, 1927, pp. 290-4.



## CHAPTER VII

### The Restriction on Immigration

"The Stranger within my gates,  
He may be evil or good,  
But I cannot tell what powers control—  
What reasons sway his mood;  
Nor when the Gods of his far-off land  
May repossess his blood.

"This was my father's belief  
And this is also mine:  
Let the corn be all one sheaf  
And the grapes be all one vine,  
Ere our children's teeth are set on edge  
By bitter bread and wine.

"The men of my own stock,  
Bitter bad they may be,  
But, at least, they hear the things I hear,  
And see the things I see;  
And whatever I think of them and their likes  
They think of the likes of me."

KIPLING, "The Stranger."

THE restrictions upon immigration are more complex and of greater international importance than those on emigration. Certain restrictions were early admitted as just. Emigration afforded an easy way of getting rid of criminals, and had the recommendation that many of them, with a fresh start in a new environment, might find it easier to lead an honourable life than in the country where they were handicapped by the stigma of crime. Criminals were therefore shipped across sea by the State. England, for example, sent to

Australia men convicted of minor crimes and those who took part in unpopular agitation, such as the early founders of trades unions. It was early recognized that it was unfair to harass a young and small community with the criminals, moral failures, and political malcontents of Europe. Official convict transport ceased. It was nevertheless conducted clandestinely on a fairly large scale, and the United States probably received a larger body of European criminals than Australia.

The transportation of physical and mental failures was equally unjust, and the new countries were entitled to insist that Europe should consume its own lunatics as well as its own criminals. Applicants for admission who through mental or physical infirmity were likely to be a charge on the community, were denied admission.

Some restrictions are necessary for the protection of race, of national institutions, and general welfare. Race should be protected by total exclusion of people of other races, or their restriction to small numbers that would not be a source of danger.<sup>1</sup> There is much evidence and growing agreement of opinion that while the crossing of stocks that are nearly akin often results in vigorous and improved offspring, the interbreeding of stocks that are very different produces an inferior progeny. To use Herbert Spencer's phrase, the hybrids of markedly different races, with individual exceptions, have a chaotic constitution. For the protection of race the immigrants should be restricted to stocks sufficiently akin to produce healthy, normal children. Immigrants should be of the same race as the people of the country of immigration. Immigration should be racial, not interracial.

The two best known examples of recent interracial immigration are those of the Chinese and Japanese into North America and Australia. In both cases it has been stopped by resolute public opinion. This overwhelming public condemnation of the immigration of Chinese was

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the more remarkable, as their civic virtues were fully recognized. They did useful work—laundry, market gardening, horticulture, and in finishing off mining operations by working deposits too low in grade for European labour. The individual Chinese were respected, and they were welcomed in Australia until they came in numbers which threatened to orientalize the labour market. Australia then stopped Chinese immigration at the risk of the most serious breach with Britain which has occurred in Australian history.<sup>2</sup>

In America Chinese immigrants were equally useful, but California, the State which received most of them, was emphatically opposed to them. After a struggle, which was long and bitter, owing to the reluctance of the United States Federal authorities to sanction Chinese exclusion, this opposition was at length overcome, and no further Chinese were allowed to enter. The number of Chinese immigrants from 1853–84, when the exclusion Act came into effect, was 292,407. The number of Chinese is now decreasing owing to death, and return to China.<sup>3</sup>

The history of Japanese immigration is in many respects similar ; but Japan is a more serious Power to deal with, as it is better organized and has a powerful fleet and army. The Japanese population is, however, smaller, so that Japan could not send out emigrants by the tens of millions. The number of Japanese in the United States is 246,000, and it has been increasing owing to the arrival of fresh immigrants and the excess of births. The Japanese are less welcome citizens than the Chinese ; they are regarded as less honest, and remain in the cities or suburbs. There is a widespread complaint that they have, in California, monopolized the truck industry<sup>4</sup> (growth of fruit and vegetables). They are said to have acquired their large share of the best irrigated land of that State by squeezing out their white competitors by sharp practices and securing their neighbours' lands at prices below the actual value. Dr. Annie



MacLean remarks, "The country has never known such a violent example of race hatred as that manifested towards the Japanese in the far Western States. It surpasses the feeling against the Negro in the South, because there one sees but little personal animus."<sup>5</sup>

The exclusion of the Japanese was arranged, as an act of courtesy to Japan, by the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908, by which the Japanese Government agreed to refuse passports for the United States to any labourers.<sup>6</sup> The Agreement was honourably kept by the Government; but it was circumvented by the wiles of individuals, and an annual stream of, on an average, 7500 Japanese entered the States in the years 1909-21. The "picture bride" method was one evasion of the agreement. The wife of a Japanese living in America was eligible for entry. Women in Japan, after exchange of photographs, were married by proxy and then entered America as the wife of a resident. This device was a breach of the spirit of the Agreement; and to close it the Immigration Act of 1924 (Sect. 28n) enacted that wives and husbands married by "a proxy or picture marriage" are not recognized as married under the Immigration Act.<sup>7</sup> The exclusion of picture brides led to the system of "Kankodan brides." A Japanese from America, who would have been permitted to stay in Japan only thirty days without incurring the liability for military service, is allowed to remain ninety days if he intends to marry and take a Japanese wife back with him to America.

After 1909 the Japanese immigrants fell from 30,226 in 1907, to 15,803 in 1908, and to numbers ranging from 2720 in 1910, to 10,213 in 1918, the average from 1909 to 1921 being about 7500 a year. The total Japanese immigration from 1893-1921 was 246,340; and despite the Gentlemen's Agreement there was a considerable entry of Japanese labourers, partly through Mexico. Whereas between 1910 and 1920 the Chinese population in the United States fell from 71,531 to 61,639, the Japanese population rose in

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the same decade from 72,157 to 111,010. This increase was partly by births in the United States ; but 13,758 was due to immigration.<sup>8</sup>

In consequence of the alleged numerous evasions of the Agreement, and although recognizing the honourable adherence to it by the Japanese Government, the United States in 1924 placed the Japanese on the same footing as the other excluded Asiatic nations.

Anti-Asiatic legislation in Canada has followed similar lines to that in the United States. British Columbia felt in special danger from over-immigration from Asia. Further Chinese and Japanese immigration was excluded directly, but the exclusion of Indians, who are British subjects, was more awkward. The British Empire recognizes that in view of the great differences in race and conditions between its members, the subjects of the British Empire have no claim to settle or to trade in every part of it. This principle is consistent with the former British trade guilds and municipal restrictions, by which no man could engage in trade in any British borough unless he were a freeman of it.

The immigration of British Indians to British Columbia was prevented by the ingenious regulation that immigrants from Asia are excluded unless they reach Canada by a continuous voyage, which is at present impossible.

### PROTECTION OF INSTITUTIONS

In all democratic countries disloyalty to the national institutions is the worst form of high treason ; and it is the duty of the Government to protect those institutions from violent overthrow. America and Australia therefore both exclude anarchists and those who advocate the overthrow of government, law, and order by violence, or who advocate the assassination of public officials.

The Acts do not exclude persons who advocate the reform of institutions. Every State is entitled to protect itself against unscrupulous and mischievous agitation by such

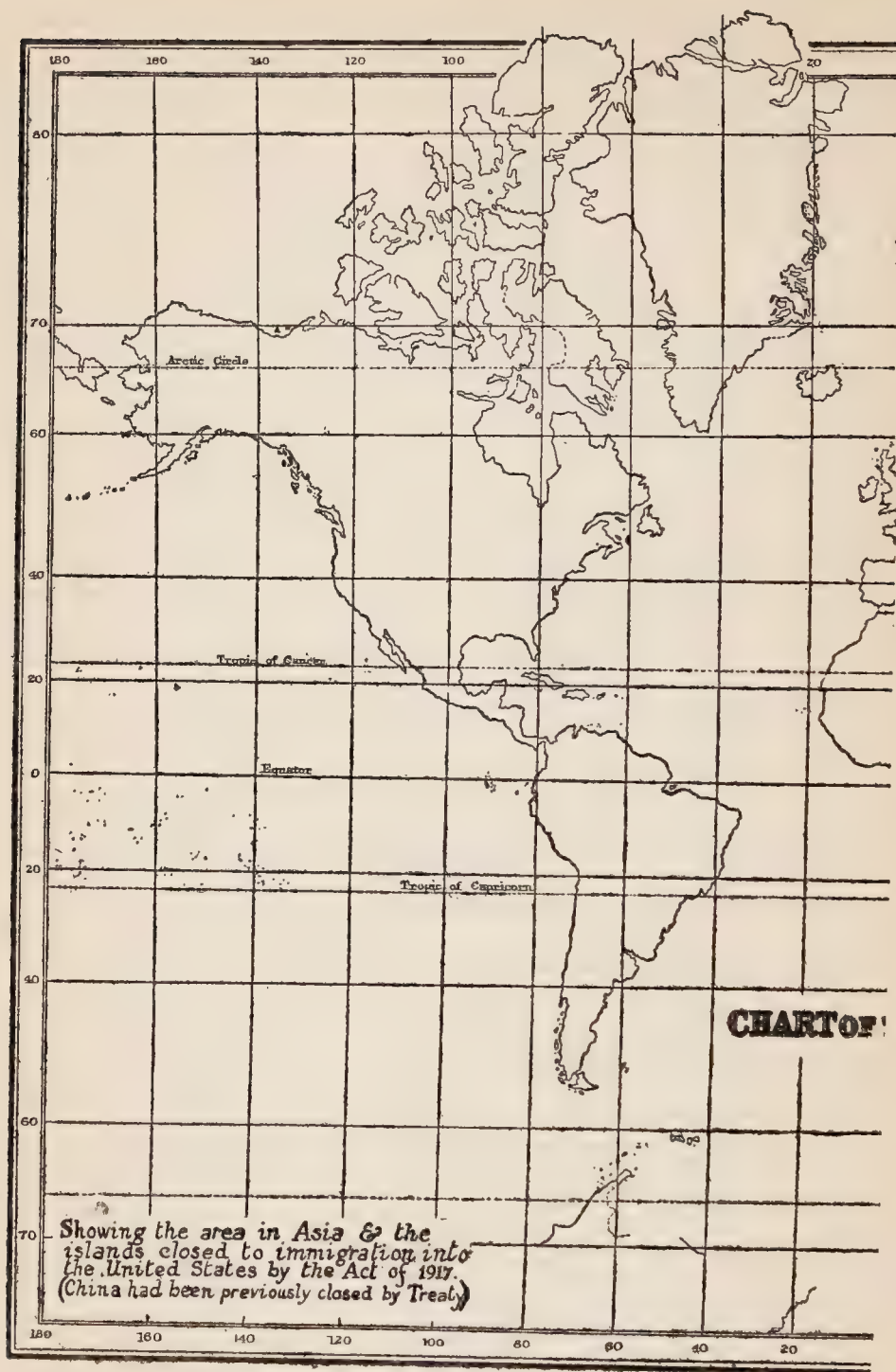
measures as it judges necessary to its special circumstances.

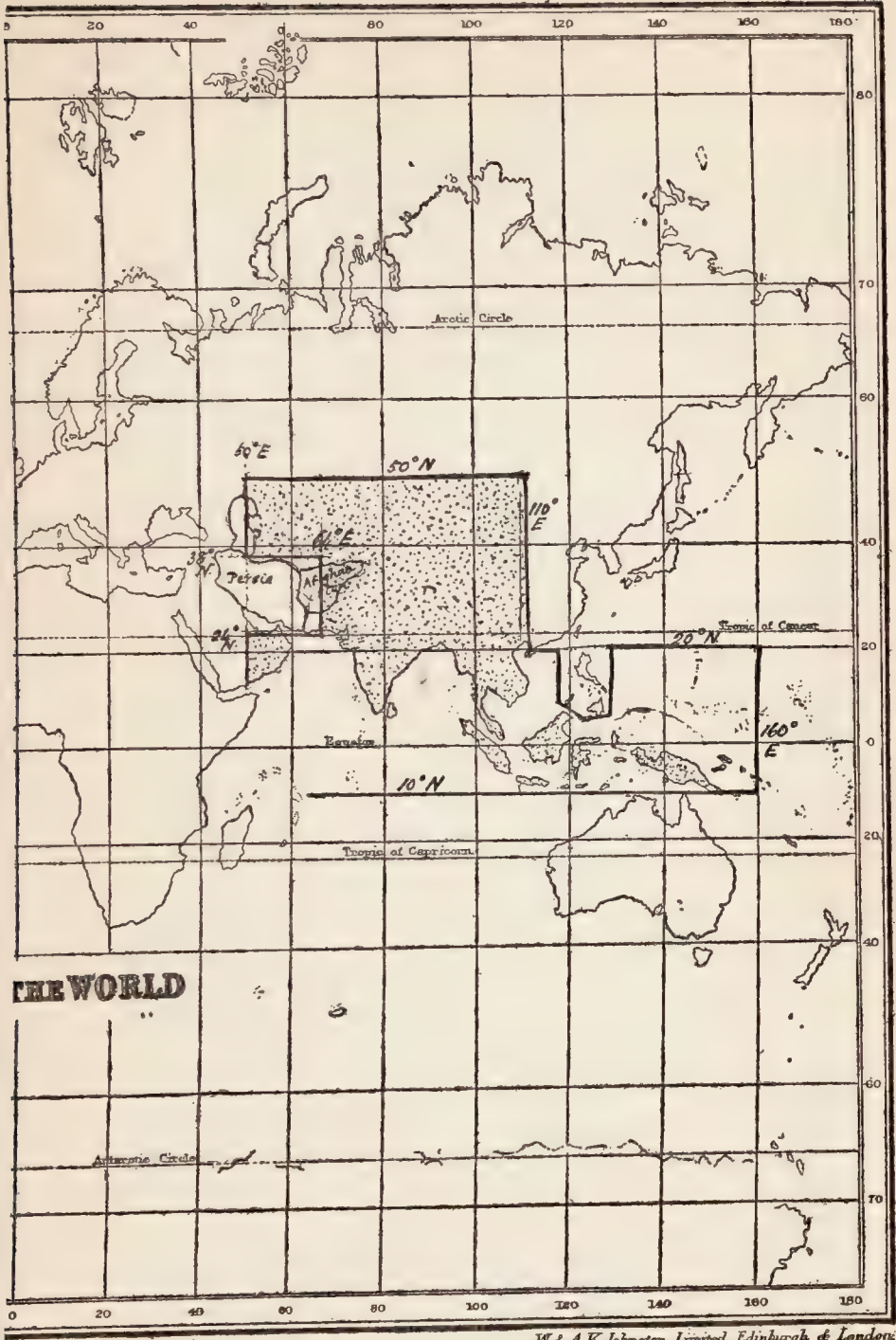
The fundamental American Immigration Act of 5th February, 1917, Section 3, excludes from the United States all aliens who are idiots, feeble-minded or epileptic; drunkards, paupers and beggars; persons suffering from tuberculosis or any loathesome or dangerous contagious disease; the mentally and physically defective; those who have committed felony or any misdemeanours involving moral turpitude; polygamists or those who believe in its practice; anarchists and those who believe in or advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by violence, the assassination of public officials, or the unlawful destruction of property; prostitutes; labourers under contract or who have come in consequence of seeing advertisements; persons whose tickets have been paid for or have been assisted to come by others, or by corporations or Governments; children under sixteen unaccompanied by their parents, unless at the discretion of the Secretary of Labour; and natives of Asiatic islands and of the Eastern Archipelago not owned by the United States; natives of Asia, who come from between  $110^{\circ}$  E. and  $50^{\circ}$  E. and South of  $50^{\circ}$  N., except for the area West of  $64^{\circ}$  E. between  $24^{\circ}$  N. and  $38^{\circ}$  N. (i.e. from India, Siam, and Indo-China) cf. map p. 73; persons "of constitutional psychopathic inferiority"; and aliens previously excluded, such as the Chinese excluded by the laws of 1882, 1892, etc., and the Japanese as they were then by the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908.

The American law of 5th June, 1920, to exclude and expel aliens who are members of the anarchist and similar classes, made these categories more explicit and comprehensive than the Act of 1917.

The Act of 1917 is so wide in its range of exclusion, and so vague in some of its terms, that it could be used, and has been used occasionally for the expulsion of individuals who







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held unpopular political opinions.<sup>9</sup> The right of the Immigration Authorities to send back anyone whom they deem feeble-minded, or suffering from consumption, or because some friend or philanthropic society has paid part of their passage-money, or because they are "of constitutional psychopathic inferiority" might be applied to people of unpopular opinions.

The fundamentalists might regard evolutionists as religious anarchists or as people of feeble mind, and claim their exclusion.

Some of the clauses are clumsily vague. Everyone entering the United States formerly had to sign a form declaring that he did not believe in polygamy. I remarked, when landing at San Francisco in 1900, that this question was not well put, as the enquiry no doubt meant, "Do you believe that polygamy should be permitted in the United States?" I pointed out the possibility of trouble to the European Governor or officials of some Oriental province if agitators used against them the fact that they had declared in America that they did not believe in polygamy. A senior official interviewed me on the matter later, and I observed to him that we no doubt both believed in the existence of polygamy as a fact, and probably in the necessity for its continuance in some Eastern countries. The form of question was subsequently altered, and in the 1917 Act the exclusion is of those who practise or advocate the practice of polygamy. Some vague clauses, however, remain, and might be held to legalise the exclusion of men merely on the grounds of an intellectual opinion.

<sup>1</sup> For evidence on the interbreeding of different races, cf. "Menace of Colour," 1925, pp. 225-35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Menace of Colour," 1925, pp. 154-5.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. MacLean, "Modern Immigration," 1925, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> The Japanese are quoted by R. L. Garis, "Immigration Restriction," 1927, p. 315, as controlling in California 92 per cent of the strawberry cultivation, 89 per cent of the celery, 83 per cent of the asparagus, 64 per cent



of the cantaloupes (melons), 75 per cent of the onions, and 66 per cent of the tomatoes. Garis, however, adds that the Japanese controlled in 1920 only 458,056 acres. As the acreage of California is just under 100 million acres, the Japanese hold less than half of 1 per cent !

<sup>5</sup> A. M. MacLean, "Modern Immigration," 1925, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> The actual terms of the Agreement have not been published ; but the tenor of its provisions is well known.

<sup>7</sup> The law against proxy marriages has been declared unconstitutional by the law courts ; the case is being carried up to the Supreme Court. "Ind. and Lab. Inf.," 1924, p. 59.

<sup>8</sup> Garis, "Immigration Restriction," 1927, p. 309.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. H. G. Wells in his "Future in America," 1906, Chap. X, on the treatment of Maxim Gorki and McQueen.

## CHAPTER VIII

### The Safe Limits of Immigration. Assimilation and the Motive Force of Emigration

"Assured of worthiness we do not dread  
Competitors ; we rather give them hail  
And greeting in the lists where we may fail ;  
Must, if we bear an aim beyond the head !  
My betters are my masters ; purely fed  
By their sustainment I likewise shall scale  
Some rocky step between the mound and vale ;

My place is here or there ;  
My pride is that among them I have place ;  
And thus I keep this instrument in tune."

G. MEREDITH, "Sonnet on Internal Harmony."

**T**HE State is bound to protect the general welfare of its people. Any State in which free immigration is leading to a lowering of wages, a reduction in the standards of living and comfort, an undue increase in crime and pauperism, and a weakening in the power of any class to organize for its own protection, is bound in justice to its people to restrict immigration to an extent that is not mischievous.

What are the tests by which the extent and nature of immigration should be determined ?

I. The first limitation on immigration is that the immigrants should not exceed the quantity that can be assimilated to the Nation in which they settle. The country of entry should act as a Melting Pot, to use Israel Zangwill's graphic phrase. A melting pot is not working properly if it is charged

with more material than it can melt, or with more of one constituent than can be smelted into the desired alloy.

Assimilation has two primary meanings. It may mean either development towards similarity, or into identity by incorporation. The latter is the physiological use, as for food which is absorbed and assimilated by the body. The term assimilation has probably been often used in connection with migration in analogy with the physiological meaning, the immigrants being absorbed into the nation like food into the body. There is, however, no important difference in the two implications of the term in reference to migration; for as the members of a nation are never identical in character, the immigrants are adequately assimilated if they become similar to the national type.

The extent to which assimilation is desirable is disputed. A nation is better and stronger if its people are varied in character and not too much of the same pattern. A country of the size of the United States would be stronger, according to some authorities, if it consisted of an aggregate of colonies or groups of States each with its special character, just as the British Isles have developed successfully although the Scots, English, Welsh, and Irish have kept their national peculiarities.

It is held by some that it would be better for the United States if, instead of the Negroes being absorbed into the rest of the population, they were kept mainly in one area, which might in time have special regulations to suit its particular conditions. Similarly it is considered that it would be advantageous to the United States to encourage the segregation of the Spanish element in the population into the south-western areas, of the Germans in Pennsylvania and Iowa, of the Italians in the Southern States, and of the Scandinavians in the lumber districts. In such segregations it is said the best qualities of each race would be developed and used, instead of being lost in one American type.

An attractive case can, no doubt, be made out for this



policy, which was sympathetically stated by Prescott F. Hall,<sup>1</sup> who in 1894 had founded the Immigration Restriction League. This view had been earlier advocated by Dr. C. W. Eliot, the illustrious President of Harvard, who held (1911) that the aliens were not being fused into a common stock by the Melting Pot, and that it was better for the United States that they should maintain their national characteristics. It has been advocated more recently by H. N. Kallen in his work, "Culture and Democracy in the United States" (1923), and by K. Bercovici, "On New Shores" (1925). According to that principle members of the different European nationalities should be encouraged to settle in those parts of the United States for which they are physically best fitted. These national segregations should be allowed great latitude in development, but should all be federated within one great republic.

Bercovici has described national settlements in various parts of America, including Danes in Minnesota, German-Russians and French in North Dakota, and group settlements of Bohemians, Dutch, Finns, Germans, Italians, Jews, Jugo-Slavs, Lithuanians, Norwegians, Poles, Rumanians, Spaniards, and Swedes. In many of these settlements the rate of assimilation is not appreciable owing to their isolation. "Underneath the slowly melting surface in the crucible containing the diverse human materials of this country there is a metal that resists the melting. The heat can reach only from the top of the vessel. The bottom of the crucible is cold."<sup>2</sup> But even under these conditions Bercovici recognized that a change is taking place, though slowly. "Many of the older immigrants have been more or less assimilated. The melting pot has been at work."<sup>3</sup> He states that as the result of his journeys, "I have learned to know how rapidly things change, how rapidly populations and occupations change, how different strata from different populations succeed one another."<sup>4</sup> He regards the main factor in the accelera-

tion of this change as the readiness of the country to accept the good features in the immigrants. "The Germans and the Scandinavians adapted themselves more rapidly than the others, because the populations they found here were of a civilization so akin to their own that they could gain acceptance for the culture and traditions they brought with them."<sup>5</sup> Slow though the process may be he says that "a new race is in process of formation. The longer it will take for its evolving into a type the better it will be for the ultimate good and value of the country. . . . In time will come something new." He recognizes that the new product will be "not a nation, but groups of individuals whose bond will be fitness to live in that particular part of the country where they will have settled. . . . Regional fitness will be the great arbiter of the type of the future American."<sup>6</sup>

Bercovici recognizes that in a country of the diversity of the United States, some differences will develop as the result of the environment.

The anticipations of Eliot, Bercovici, and Kallen have nothing horrifying to a student of the British Empire, in which the various Dominions differ greatly in racial composition, and are free to develop on the lines suitable to their special geographical conditions and according to their own inclinations. The principle of local differentiation has, however, been vehemently denounced by Lothrop Stoddard,<sup>7</sup> who regards it as simple disintegration and not as a method by which unlike units may be forged into a great Power. He says a United States of this type would be "a hellish bedlam," and quotes approvingly Brander Matthews' comment that the country would be "a racial rag-bag with a linguistic crazy-quilt."

The differences between a continuous land area like the United States and the wide-flung isolated units of the British Empire are so great that the same system may not be best for both. The United States is geographically

more similar to Europe than to the British Empire; and any student of European history may fairly recoil from the re-establishment in America of the separate national groups, the conflicts between which have been the curse of Europe and are still the great handicap to its economic prosperity.

The serious difficulties that result from the intimate contact of diverse races are remarked by Professor M. R. Davie;<sup>8</sup> and with the modern strengthening of the national sentiment the wider advocacy of a pluralistic America would not be surprising.

Experience in the United States shows that many difficulties have arisen through national clannishness. The belief is firmly held that international prejudice has caused several deplorable miscarriages of justice.

The development of a uniform type over an area so vast, and containing such different climates and environments as the United States may be impossible; and as provincialism and provincial physical characteristics persist in Britain, differences corresponding to the greater distances and the more marked differences in geographical conditions may develop in the United States. The general experience of Europe, however, shows that the smaller the differences between the intermingled people the easier and smoother the government of the country. Where alien groups are intermingled their combination appears easiest if they are large enough to be given self-government under a federal union for common purposes. If, therefore, the aliens in a country cannot be assimilated, their segregation into communities appears to give happier results than their intermingling. If the assimilation of immigrants to the general national type is impracticable, the Brazilian policy of group colonization, if there be enough of each kind to form autonomous communities, appears the best available plan.

As it is desirable that alien immigrants should be assimilated, one test for the admissibility of immigrants is their national



assimilability. It is obvious that the least assimilable people are members of other races. "We cannot assimilate the yellow, brown, and black races. Experience shows they are unassimilable, at any rate by us," says Professor M. R. Davie.<sup>9</sup> He would exclude from the United States Negroes from Cuba and the West Indies, who are now admitted; but the West Indian Negroes have been such an excellent influence in the United States and so especially helpful in Negro education that they have well repaid their footing.

The European nations differ markedly in respect to assimilability. Among the people of the British Isles, for example, the Irish with their quick sympathy, humour, and tact are the most easily assimilated; as Rudyard Kipling expresses it:—

"There came to the beach a poor exile of Erin,  
The dew on his wet robe hung heavy and chill;  
Ere the steamer that brought him had passed out of hearin'  
He was Alderman Mike inthrojuicin' a bill!"

The public-school Englishman, on the contrary, with rigid class habits which he slowly alters, fits into a democratic community more slowly, as indicated by the expression "Once an Englishman always an Englishman." The proverbial clannishness of the Scot also delays assimilation. In the United States it appears that of the Continental people under equal conditions the Italian is most readily assimilated, and the Russian is least; but there appears at present no adequate data for a table of assimilability of the European nations, as the rate of assimilation varies so much with the conditions of migration.

A Teuton coming into the predominantly Teutonic stock of New England is naturally more easily absorbed there than is an Italian or a Slav. But any isolated European settler will be absorbed far more quickly than would be a

group of immigrants of a nation which is normally more easily assimilated.

The settler in Pennsylvania whose ancestors arrived there generations ago and who says that his home is being "gepainted and gevitvashed" shows how persistent may be the influence of the national language under conditions which approximate to group settlement.

The Welsh colony in the valley of the Chubut River in the Southern Argentine, and the trouble they gave the authorities because of their refusal to learn the language of the country or give military service, also illustrate the non-assimilability of an immigrant group.

The tests of assimilation are not well-defined. Its rate varies with the environment. A single emigrant settled in a community will probably be quickly assimilated; whereas if he joined a village settlement of people of his own nationality he would have little chance of acquiring the sentiment of his adopted country.

In group migration assimilation is inevitably slow, and is therefore discouraged for aliens where the country of entry expects the immigrants to become its full citizens. Group migration has been largely practised from Italy—a whole village going out together with its priest and doctor. I have several times come across Italian villages in the mining-fields of Victoria, where the men were engaged in timber-felling for the mines; they brought their families with them, and many of them, after the men had saved what they regarded as a small fortune, returned to Italy, sending back others to take their place. In these villages few of the women seemed to know any English, and the mental atmosphere was Italian. No assimilation was in progress. These immigrants gave no strength to Australia as a nationality; but they helped the Victorian mining industry by providing cheap timber, and thus enabling ore deposits to be worked at a profit, or at a larger profit than would have been earned otherwise. A certain number of

alien colonies may be helpful, though too many would be a source of national weakness.

Assimilation may be delayed artificially by the deliberate action of the emigrant country ; and with the growth of national sentiment since the War, many European countries, as by the Italian policy of controlled emigration,<sup>10</sup> have systematically tried to maintain their hold over their emigrants so as to secure their military service in war, to profit from their help as customers, and to use them as national agents to promote national trade and political strength.

Such attempts by the State from which the emigrants come to retain them as its citizens, like those of the State they enter to suppress aggressively their individuality, delay assimilation. It is inevitable and desirable that the immigrants should retain their interest in their nation's literature, art and culture, and should cherish with pride the memory of its achievements and contributions to human progress. That interest in their ancestors and national history is as natural as that a Scot, whose ancestors have been for generations born and bred in London, should belong to his Caledonian Club and be proud of his ancestral clan. The country of entry should not expect a worthy alien to at once forget his people. A man who abandoned his nationality lightly would all the more readily disregard his fealty to his adopted country. European history is strewn with the disastrous consequences of the attempt to stamp out national sentiments ; and the new country may be confident of securing in time the affection and loyalty of the new-comers by fair-play, reasonable help, and judicious measures to facilitate assimilation. Kipling has expressed the rewards of this policy in his "Sir Richard's Song," based on A.D. 1066.

I followed my Duke ere I was a lover,  
To take from England fief and fee ;  
But now this game is the other way over—  
But now England hath taken me ! ”



**THE MOTIVE FORCE OF MIGRATION**

The second main factor in estimating the desirability of immigrants is the Motive Force of Emigration. The motives may be divided into four classes: Over-population; Climatic Change; Personal desire for a Change of Circumstances; or Political or Social Discontent.

**1. Over-population** is generally regarded as the main cause of emigration, as it occasions many economic ills. A severe struggle for existence leads to low wages, starvation or chronic under-feeding, physical and mental deterioration, and liability to disease. Over-population is represented by althus and his disciples as the normal condition, the population always tending to increase faster than the food supply.

This doctrine is repudiated by one school, who represent Malthusianism as disproved; and they deny that over-population is ever an important cause of emigration. Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders'<sup>11</sup> important work shows that the growth of population is checked by many factors apart from food supply, and that the rapid growth of population in the past century has been abnormal. He claims that the migrations of people are due to an idea, and not to the pressure of over-population, which produces an underfed, slack people, who have not the energy and initiative for migration.

In spite of the unquestionable truth in this view it seems overstated. Ireland, for example, is a case in which over-population caused emigration. The country maintained an increasing population so long as the output of potatoes was increased, but when plant disease led to a fall in the potato crop, it could no longer feed so many people and the population sank, by famine and emigration, from 8,300,000 in 1845 to 4,390,000 in 1911. No doubt the famine caused the decrease in the population and the emigration;

but the famine was the result of over-population, and its reduction continued whether or not the potato disease was active.

Over-population is relative and variable. England and Wales in 1911 with a population of 36,000,000 or 618 per square mile, was not over-populated: but 38,000,000 or 652 per square mile in 1921, with a National Debt of £8,000,000,000, an income tax of four shillings in the pound, heavier local rates, the ruin of many of our former customers by war and taxation, and the development of foreign competition owing to the failure of European supplies during the War, is in the opinion of many experts far more than the country can now support in comfort.

Sir Charles Close<sup>12</sup> expresses the "hope that there will be, during the next twenty years, a considerable decrease of population,—a decrease of some millions."

**2. Climatic Change** has been regarded as the impulse of many of the great migrations of the past. It has been especially advocated by Dr. Ellsworth Huntington,<sup>13</sup> who in a series of interesting books maintains that the fall in the importance of such countries as Palestine, Cyrenaica, and Turkestan was due to their having been withered by decrease in rainfall; and that this change caused the depopulation of areas in Central Asia, as it drove the people from their homes and forced them to invade Europe.

The latest form of the theory, as stated by Professor Ellsworth Huntington, is not easy to disprove, as he regards the cause of the change as a slight fall in temperature. The change, he assumes, was from only 63·1° F. to 62° which is itself inappreciable and insignificant; he regards it as merely a trigger action which sets other causes in operation. The mean annual temperature at Greenwich varies as much as 25·8° F.; so that the great migrations are attributed to a change of temperature

far less than happens at Greenwich without any serious effect. Variations of temperature of two degrees might be so distributed throughout the year that the public verdict would be that the year with the lower temperature was, in fact, the warmer. I have tried to show in previous papers,<sup>14</sup> for example, that there is no evidence of any climatic change in historic times sufficient to account for the changes in population or the transfer of the centres of civilization and culture; and that view is adopted by Professor Carr-Saunders.<sup>15</sup>

**3. Personal Discontent.** The predominant motive for individual migration has probably been dissatisfaction with the local conditions, due to social and political tyranny, religious or political persecution, or habits that place difficulties in people's improvement of their social position in the place of their birth.

Dr. Annie MacLean<sup>16</sup> quotes the reasons for emigration given by alien labourers in the United States :—

Evasion of military service .	13 Greeks, 5 Russians	=18
Political discontent . . .	2 „ 8 „ 1 Turk, 2 Bulgarians	=13
Assistance by relatives and friends (in all but 12 cases sent from the U.S.) }	6 „ 47 Italians, 27 Hun- garians, 10 Slavs	=90
Activity of steamship com- panies . . . }	7 Italians, 2 Hungarians, 1 Bul- garian	=10
		<hr/> 131

The impulses for migration which should make a man a desirable immigrant are intellectual dissatisfaction with his surroundings or conditions, as that implies thoughtfulness, originality, and independence of judgment, which are especially favourable qualities when combined with reasonableness and industry. Curiosity as to the world outside a man's ken again betrays intelligence, and its combination with the energy necessary for travel indicates enterprise



and courage. According to the song in Goethe's "Wanderjahre" :—

"To give space for wandering was it  
That the world was made so wide."

Obedience to the impulse to enjoy the earth's wide spaces is usually a favourable indication of character. The desire for self-improvement as a form of selfishness may be less laudable ; but it is a valuable factor because it is such a powerful stimulus.

**4. Political Discontent.** Motive forces which may be justly regarded with suspicion by an immigrant country are discontent with bad government, poverty, and overpopulation due to the failure of a country to make adequate use of its natural resources.

To avoid invidious comparisons, consider the hypothetical case of two adjacent States in similar geographical conditions, with an equal density of population. Suppose that State A has an area of 10,000 square miles and 3,000,000 inhabitants, and State B an area of 100,000 square miles and 30,000,000 inhabitants. Suppose State B falls under an incompetent, extravagant Government, which ruins the State and its industries by overwhelming debt and taxation. Many of the people would be unemployed and would tend to emigrate to the neighbouring State, where the conditions were more comfortable and prosperous. Assume that in State A the Government is elected by 600,000 voters, and that the existing Government has the support of 400,000 voters against a minority of 200,000 who would like to see a drastic change in the laws. State B, with the same franchise as A, would have 6,000,000 voters, and the immigration of over 200,000 of them into A might place the minority in power. Unrestricted immigration into A might easily swamp its majority, and lead to the overthrow of its laws. State A would therefore be justified in limiting immigration to a number that would not imperil its constitution, although

its impoverished and perhaps starving neighbours might denounce the restriction as merciless and inhuman. The people of A are confronted with the alternatives of closing their frontiers or allowing their own prosperity to be overthrown by the inrush of people who have shown themselves politically incompetent.

In such a case is the model State bound to risk the ruin of its institutions and the impoverishment of its people by letting in an overwhelming number of its less competent neighbours? The decision to let the unfortunate people "stew in their own juice," to use Sir William Harcourt's phrase, may seem heartless; but the Government of each State is bound to consider the welfare of its people, and progress depends not on reducing all to the level of the lowest, but on raising the standard in some countries, which will serve as models, and encourage others by their example to strive for better conditions.

The desire to escape from intolerable political and social conditions is a motive which immigrant countries may justly regard with suspicion, as it may lead to an undue inflow of people who would be a disturbing political element.

<sup>1</sup> P. F. Hall, "The Future of American Ideals," "North Amer. Rev.," Vol. CXCIV, 1912, pp. 98-9.

<sup>2</sup> K. Bercovici, "On New Shores," 1925, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18

<sup>7</sup> T. L. Stoddard, "Reforging America," 1927, pp. 245-9.

<sup>8</sup> M. R. Davie, "Constructive Immigration Policy," 1923, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. pp. 59-61.

<sup>11</sup> A. M. Carr-Saunders, "The Population Problem," 1922, pp. 299-300.

<sup>12</sup> C. Close, "Population and Migration," "Geography," XIV, 1927, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Ellsworth Huntington, "Pulse of Asia," 1910; "Civilization and Climate," 1915; "Earth and Sun," 1925; and with S. S. Visher, "Climatic Changes," 1922.

<sup>14</sup> "Is the Earth Drying Up?" "Geogr. Journ.," XLIII, 1914, pp. 148-72, 293-313; "Climatic Changes and Continental Drift," "Edinb. Rev.," Vol. 238, 1923, pp. 85-102.

<sup>15</sup> A. M. Carr-Saunders, "Population Problem," 1922, pp. 301-2.

<sup>16</sup> A. M. MacLean, "Modern Immigration," 1925, p. 43.



## CHAPTER IX

# Immigration into the United States

"DAVID (prophetically exalted by the spectacle of a flaming sunset over New York):

"It is the fires of God round His crucible.

"There, she lies, the great Melting Pot—listen! There gapes her mouth—the harbour where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight!

"Ah! what a stirring and a seething? Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian—black and yellow.

"VERA. Jew and Gentile.

"DAVID . . . how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with His purging flame!

"Here they shall unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God.

"Ah! Vera, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labour and look forward!"

"Peace, peace to all ye unborn millions, fated to fill this giant continent—the God of our children give you Peace."

ZANGWILL, 1908.

"But if a Simple Nationality thus, the moment it is born, starts changing into a Complex Nationality, so the Complex or Compound Nationality, the moment it is born, starts changing into a Simple Nationality. . . . Compound Nationalities fuse but slowly; and Hybrid Nationalities still more slowly, but the Complex Nationality is—as I have called America, which is mainly of this class—the 'Melting Pot.' And though both the tyranny and tolerance may provide the heat of solution, love is a swifter factor than force, since political suppression, endangering as it does the nationality, recharges its battery, and retards the very process it would precipitate."

ZANGWILL, "The Principles of Nationality," 1917.

THE United States, as a nation of immigrants, naturally at first accepted the right of emigration; but the founders of the new Republic recognized that some limitations might be necessary to protect it from the export of European criminals or its

institutions from overthrow by an inflow of people hostile to democratic government. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the "Declaration of Independence," recognized this danger as so serious that he almost joined in the wish "that there were an ocean of fire between this and the Old World."

The immigrants into the United States up to about 1830 were generally welcomed, for their labour was useful and the men efficient. But after 1830 the number of immigrants increased and there were repeated charges that they included a large proportion of paupers, criminals, and infirm, who were shipped to America by the poor-law authorities. Many of the immigrants soon became inmates of the American poor-houses. Some of the assertions as to the wholesale shipment of European paupers were exaggerated and others baseless; but there was too much truth in the complaints. Public opinion was convinced that America was being used as the dumping-ground for the scum of Europe. The Protestants were alarmed at the great increase of Catholics. About 1835 the "Native American Party" was organized to secure "America for the Americans" and prevent Catholic domination. Anti-Catholic riots, the failure of the party to secure consideration for its Bill for the exclusion of lunatics and diseased immigrants, and irritation at the proposition to establish an independent German state in Texas, led to the reorganizing of the movement in 1850 as a secret society. As its members, when examined in the police-courts declared that they knew nothing about the facts, the Party received its nickname of the "Know Nothing Party." Its name was actually "The Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner." It grew rapidly, and in 1856 it ran a candidate for the Presidency and polled heavily, although a large number of its members voted for the other candidates as they thought that theirs had no chance. The four planks in their platform were: American rule for America; Government offices to be restricted to

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the native-born ; naturalization to be allowed only after twenty-one years' residence ; and the exclusion of all criminal and pauper immigrants.

This Party collapsed in the Civil War, and it was not revived at the end, for other issues arose ; and the industrialization of the States demanded an amount of labour which could only be supplied by immigration.

The United States began to develop its Immigration Policy on the lines subsequently adopted by Australia. New York State established an agency to receive the immigrants, and to see to their comfort on arrival and help them to find work and a home. This system continued until 1876, when immigration was declared a Federal matter, and Federal legislation to control it was passed in 1882. The new system made no efforts to befriend the new-comer and ease his assimilation. The functions of the Immigration Department became negative ; it might admit or exclude an immigrant, but once admitted he was left to look after himself. Hence the welfare of the immigrants became the care of various national societies who arranged that the immigrant should be met and welcomed by his compatriots, and guided to a hotel, hostel, or boarding-house run by his own people, and sent where he would find a group of his own nationality and work amongst them. Each immigrant would join a national society, read its newspaper, invest his savings in a national bank, and do his business through its branches or a national society. Thus the use of his own language would be maintained, and he might be inspired with higher admiration for his national literature, art, and religion than he had ever felt before.

If the separate States had been allowed to organize immigration the assimilation of the immigrants would probably have been automatic and steady, and the active American propaganda of recent years would have been needless. But many of the States took their cue from the



Federal policy, and their legislation also tended to hamper the immigrant and not to help him. Even before the anti-alien movement became grotesquely fantastic under War psychology the State laws were burdensome to the alien. In fourteen States he could only own land temporarily; in nine States no alien could be employed in public works; in some he was excluded from certain trades; for example, he could not be a barber in Michigan, or a pedlar in Georgia, or do any official printing in Louisiana.<sup>1</sup> Such discriminations against the alien have probably done much to maintain his alienation and his primary loyalty to his national group. They encouraged feelings of injustice and hostility; and offended pride is the best stimulant for converting a reasonable sentiment into national prejudice.

In time the immigration controversy was renewed between the industrialists and various philanthropists who were in favour of Free Immigration, against Organized Labour, the economists and eugenists who declared that the importation of the "scum of Europe" was imperilling the welfare and the unity of the United States. The party in favour of Restriction gained ground between 1880 and 1890, when the Old Immigration of the Teutonic people of North-west Europe was succeeded by the "New Immigration" in which the predominant elements came from the south and east of Europe.

Until about the year 1882 most of the immigrants into the United States went from North-western Europe, from the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Germany. These Teutonic people proved acceptable and satisfactory colonists, as they were akin to the bulk of the earlier settlers in the Atlantic Coast States. The immigrants from these countries, with a few from Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, amounted, up to 1883, to 95 per cent of the total immigrants from Europe. In 1882 the immigration from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia reached its maximum; an extensive immigration then began from

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Southern and Eastern Europe which grew with extraordinary rapidity, and by 1896 had surpassed that from North-western Europe. In the decade 1901-10, 65·9 per cent of the immigrants were from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, as against 12·2 from the British Isles and Germany. The bulk of the New Immigrants were from Southern Italy (most of the Northern Italians went to South America), various people from the Balkans, and streams of Poles, Finns, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, as only a tenth of the number from the old Russian Empire were Russians. Fairchild compared the two years 1882 and 1907; in 1882 the Old Immigrants were 87·1 per cent, and in 1907 their proportion had fallen to 19 per cent: the New Immigrants increased from 13 per cent to 81 per cent. In 1913 the Old Immigrants were still in a small minority; they numbered only  $21\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the European immigrants. In 1920-21, the last year before the Quota Law, the Old Immigrants amounted to  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the Europeans, and the New Immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe amounted to  $72\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

This change in the nature of the immigration gave increased strength to the demand for its restriction. The agitation has been largely maintained by organized Labour, nervous lest the needy hungry immigrants should accept lower wages and weaken the unions and associations by which Labour negotiates with Capital. Many of those who have supported the movement against unrestricted immigration regarded the old immigration from North-western Europe as beneficial; but they consider that the people from Southern and Eastern Europe belong to a different section of the Caucasian race from the Teutonic nations, and their widespread intermarriage in America has led to some physical deterioration; and they further consider that as the New Immigrants have had less experience of industrial conditions, they have weakened the position of Labour.

The Old Immigration had been faced by the same arguments as those now used against the New. The inflow of the "scum" from the slums of Britain and Germany was said, a century and more ago, to be ruining the American race, lowering wages, and reducing Labour to serfdom.

Professor Roy Garis<sup>2</sup> has collected a series of protests against the Old Immigration made between 1790 and about 1850; and compared with the violence, bitterness, and hysterical vehemence expressed in some of his quotations the objections to the New Immigration are mild.

The differences between the Old and the New Immigration, according to many authorities, have been greatly exaggerated. Thus, according to F. C. Howe,<sup>3</sup> "The important difference between the 'Old Immigration' and the 'New Immigration' is not ethnic. It is not religious. It is economic. The 'Old Immigration' has become the owning and employing class, while the 'New Immigration' is the servile and dependent class. This is the real, the important difference between the 'Old Immigration' and the 'New.' The former owns the resources of America. The economic division coincides roughly with the race division."

S. G. Fisher<sup>4</sup> has given graphic extracts, from writers in the early days of the Old Immigration, asserting the degradation of the American by foreign dens of iniquity and by venality in voting, and the increase in crime and pauperism, and the injury to the artisans by the lowering of wages. That the standard of living among the recent immigrants is lower than that of their predecessors is denied by Dr. I. A. Hourwich.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Peter Roberts,<sup>6</sup> the Director of Americanization Activity of the Young Men's Christian Association, denies the charges against the New Immigrants, and says they are not from the slums of Europe but from the farms, and include the best of European workers. Any difference in assimilability that there may be between the Old and the New Immigrants is claimed by Gavit<sup>7</sup> to be in



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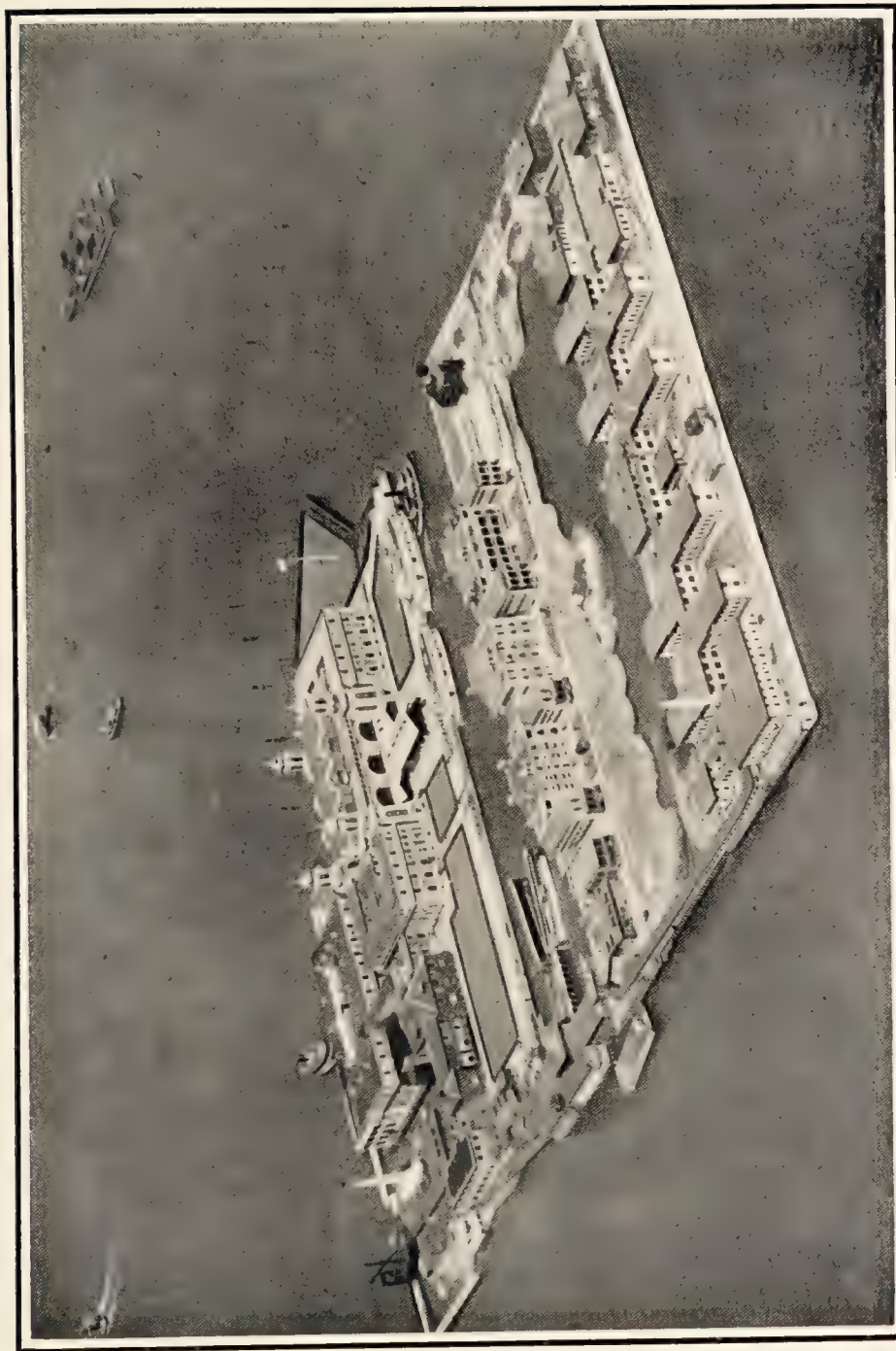
favour of the New; and he claims that there is no appreciable difference in racial quality between them. The difference is that the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe are less educated; they have been reared under less advanced social conditions; and in America they are employed in the worst-paid industries, so that they have less chance of improvement.

Professor M. R. Davie<sup>8</sup> thinks that there was no great difference in the causes for immigration, and that economic motives predominated in both types though many of the New Immigrants have come from political reasons. The Rumanians and Serbians came, not from Rumania or Serbia, but from Austria-Hungary, where the Government was trying to suppress the national individuality of its subject-races.

The New Immigration is unskilled labour; but that is what is wanted and is well paid in the United States. The remuneration for much skilled labour and professional work—with striking exceptions—is not much higher than in Europe.

The mixture of nationalities in the United States is the most remarkable in the world at the present time. The people of foreign birth in the United States, according to Dr. Annie MacLean,<sup>9</sup> number 17,000,000, and they with their children number 35,000,000 or one-third of the population. A third of the American Jews are now living in New York, where they form one-fifth of the population; and the United States contains 24 per cent of the world's Jews, 20 per cent of the Norwegians, and 15 per cent of the Swedes.<sup>10</sup> Professor W. Z. Ripley of Harvard,<sup>11</sup> even in 1904, called attention to the fact that in 1900 two-thirds of the inhabitants of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and three-fifths of those of New York State and of Connecticut, and three-quarters of the inhabitants of New York and Chicago were of foreign parentage.<sup>12</sup>

Cleveland, Ohio, is said to have only 25 per cent of the



*Photo*

*Spirit of General*

ELLIS ISLAND IN NEW YORK HARBOUR PHOTOGRAPHED FROM AN AEROPLANE

Most of the immigrants into the United States have passed through this depot and have undergone their inspection in it.





population of native parents, and that proportion includes 30,000 Negroes.

The complexity of the intermixture of undigested aliens was realized in the War camps when interpreters had to be provided in forty languages.

The extent of the mixture of nationalities is illustrated by Sir Leo Chiozza Money<sup>13</sup> by various lists of personal names.

An analysis of the Race Origin of the United States population of 1920 by a New York ethnologist, J. B. Trevor,<sup>14</sup> includes the following :—

British and Irish	.	.	.	56·8 millions.
German	.	.	.	12·2 „
Negroes and Mulattoes	.	.	.	10·5 „
Italians	.	.	.	3·5 „
Canadians	.	.	.	3·5 „
Poles	.	.	.	2·8 „
Russians	.	.	.	2·4 „
Swedes	.	.	.	1·9 „
Dutch	.	.	.	1·7 „
Austrians	.	.	.	1·3 „
Norwegians	.	.	.	1·2 „
French	.	.	.	1·1 „

The influences which are preventing the assimilation of these immigrants are numerous and powerful.

According to the Foreign Language Information Service of the American Red Cross<sup>15</sup> there are 63,000 racial societies in the United States; some of them aim at the Americanization of their members; but the purpose of others is to maintain their racial solidarity and to support their home country or some political party in it. There are 26,000 foreign churches. There are<sup>16</sup> 147 daily foreign newspapers, 863 weekly and half-weekly journals, 240 monthly or half-monthly journals.

Of these periodicals 898 are newspapers, 122 are general

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magazines, 155 religious, and 75 commercial. The newspapers have a circulation of 10,000,000 copies. The foreign papers are printed in 35 languages, viz.: Albanian, 4 papers; Armenian, 17; Assyrian, 5; Bohemian, 74; Belgian, 3; Carpatho-Russian, 3; Chinese, 8; Croatian, 15; Dutch, 20; Danish and Norwegian, 69; Esthonian, 2; Flemish, 3; Finnish, 32; French, 39; German, 269; Greek, 20; Italian, 185; Japanese, 15; Jewish, 35; Lettish, 3; Lithuanian, 21; Magyar, 42; Polish, 83; Portuguese, 17; Rumanian, 8; Russian, 13; Serbian, 6; Slovenian, 13; Slovak, 36; Spanish, 109; Swedish, 61; Syrian, 8; Ukranian, 8; Uhro-Russian, 5; Wendish, 1.

The financial and business racial agencies, according to Kellor,<sup>17</sup> "are as perfectly linked together in an economic system as are the parallel American agencies. Though they are far less powerful and resourceful than are the American agencies, yet they possess a greater potential power to influence the economic affairs of their own people. Identity of racial interest has in this way bound together the members of each race as no American interest has ever done for all of the races. This mobilization by racial organizations of racial resources in America has amazed the old world by its cohesiveness, and by its wealth, its power, and masterful efficiency."

The New Immigration with its mixture of unassimilated aliens has alarmed moderate opinion in the United States. Some pessimists twenty years ago declared that the American race had been swamped and destroyed. Professor Van Dyke<sup>18</sup> of Princeton, lamented in 1910 "The American race is a new creation, aboriginal, autochthonome, which ought to express itself in totally new and hitherto unheard-of forms of art and literature. *Per contra*, there is no American race, only a vast and absurd *mélange* of incongruous elements, cast off from Europe by various political convulsions, and combined by the pressure of events, not

into a people, but into a mere population, which can never have a literature or art of its own."

"We have become a heterogeneous nation of mixed races," deplores Jerome D. Davis.<sup>19</sup> "Statisticians report," according to M. R. Davie,<sup>20</sup> "that two-thirds of those who now comprise the American nation are of foreign birth or with foreign parentage in one or both parents. That leaves but a third of the nations to lay claim to native birth with full American parentage."

As the immigrants are largely unskilled workers and are most readily engaged in the factories and larger works, an undue proportion go to the industrial towns of New England where the foreign-born percentage is the highest in America. Daniel Chauncey Brewer describes the modern development in the title of his book as "The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant." He declares that in New England the immigrant has so overwhelmed the original stock that "the Yankee has disappeared as a political factor."<sup>21</sup> He quotes the Census reports of 1920, that the total population of the New England States is 7,400,000, of which 2,803,000 are the stock of long residence there, and 4,591,000 are foreign white stock and Negroes.<sup>22</sup> Among the chief nations in the foreign stock are :—<sup>23</sup>

French-Canadians	.	.	.	620,000
Italians	.	.	.	494,000
Russians	.	.	.	470,000
Austrians	.	.	.	194,000
Germans	.	.	.	162,000
Swedes	.	.	.	138,000
Turks	.	.	.	45,000
Greeks	.	.	.	43,000
Hungarians	.	.	.	41,000
Finns	.	.	.	35,000
<hr/>				
Total	.	.	.	2,252,000



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In addition are 158,000 of mixed parentage and 58,000 unclassified.

The cessation of immigration may check the growth of the foreign majority in New England, but will probably not stop it. Even counting the children of the foreigners as natives, the foreign population of Boston is 61·57 per cent ; of Fall River, 60·49 per cent ; of Roxbury, 63·7 per cent ; and of Lawrence, 71·66 per cent.<sup>24</sup> Brewer predicts that within the time of people still living Chelsea will be 99 per cent foreign. The birth-rate among the foreign element is greater than amongst the Yankees, which appears to be a natural consequence of so many of the immigrants being young or of young middle age, while so many of the older stock are children left in the East for education, or elderly people who have retired there ; a considerable proportion of the Yankee element in the population spends its active life out West.

This westward migration of the original population appears to explain the high foreign proportion of New England. The answer to Brewer's question,<sup>25</sup> " How shall we explain why New England, which was Yankee yesterday, is European to-day ? " is given by his own statements as to the depopulation of the New England farming and rural districts as the people left to take up better land in the Middle and Western States. The New England States would doubtless have lost their former predominance in any case, owing to the competition of the West, just as the centre of prosperity in Canada has gone westward from the Maritime Provinces. The Yankees who remained have established the industries which have been rendered possible by the inflow of cheap unskilled immigrants and which have built up the rich industrial towns that have maintained the financial prosperity of New England. According to Brewer,<sup>26</sup> in 1926, " At present industrial Connecticut and industrial New England are still calling for cheap labour,"

which they can only obtain by immigration or by bringing Negroes from the South.<sup>27</sup>

The ill consequences of this unassimilated immigration included the high proportion of men who were illiterate and could not understand English. "In one camp alone," says the United States Commissioner of Education,<sup>28</sup> "it was necessary to converse with the men through interpreters in forty different languages." He<sup>29</sup> also quotes the Surgeon-General of the Army, that "of the 1,552,256 men examined 386,196 had been unable to read and understand newspapers and to write letters home"; and that in the total 28 camps the illiterates varied from 13.5 to 41.8 per cent, with an average of 24.9 per cent. These men were between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age. The realization of this state of affairs led to the policy of Americanization.

The discovery at the War camps of the illiteracy, and of the ignorance of the English language of large numbers of the immigrants, led to a sudden and somewhat violent propaganda for the Americanization of the alien. The official Americanization organization was established under the Board of Education, and aided by many voluntary workers. The movement was prosecuted as a campaign of enthusiastic and vigorous hustle. Pamphlets and circulars were widely distributed, lectures were given, and notices were enclosed with the employees' pay slips in order to convince the alien of the advantage of becoming a naturalized American citizen. Promises were made to tempt or bribe him to take this step, and warnings issued which read like attempts to bounce indifferent aliens into American citizenship. The various methods of the Become-American-Quick system have been described and castigated by Professor H. P. Fairchild.<sup>30</sup> According to his account this branch of the Americanization campaign was an utter failure, and has been abandoned.

The second method is more hopeful. It endeavours to influence the alien by education, sympathetic intercourse,

and by arranging for him conditions under which he automatically absorbs American ideas and habits. It recognizes that those who come to America in middle or later life are not likely to be fundamentally altered, but that under suitable conditions their children become genuine American citizens, as when little-changed aliens, who can themselves speak little English, in their gratitude for the liberty and comparative comfort of their new life, urge their children to cheer the American flag and regard themselves as young Americans. This type of Americanization is naturally slow, and is less spectacular; but it is more effective, and is being carried on by many agencies. The need for this work and its progress have been described by Dr. Peter Roberts, the Director of the Americanization Activity of the Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>31</sup>

The wisdom of the Americanization policy is however denied by those who consider that a country of the size and with the varied geographical conditions of the United States should develop as a Federal or pluralistic republic of states or provinces, which may differ in the predominant national origin of their inhabitants, and should not strive for the occupation of the whole area by one uniform national type.

The aim of Americanization and of assimilation is that expressed in the phrase the "Melting Pot," which has passed into current language from Israel Zangwill's powerful drama. He there pictured the United States as giving refugees from Europe the opportunity of developing the intellectual and artistic capacities which had been blighted in Europe by oppression and perverted by autocratic tyranny. America was to act as the Melting Pot, by which many diverse elements would be purified and cast into a finer and more homogeneous metal.

The "Melting Pot" phrase has fallen into disfavour as it has been regarded as one of the catch-cries of unrestricted immigration. Professor Fairchild in 1911 referred to the



Melting Pot idea as a delusion ; and his recent book, "The Melting Pot Mistake," expresses the view that the United States has not acted as a Melting Pot, and that the immigrants remain alien unassimilated groups.

Professor Fairchild remarks that Zangwill had not the experience to judge as to how far the Melting Pot process had been successful. The mistake was not that of Israel Zangwill. He recognized that the action of the Melting Pot must be slow, and that three generations must pass before the traits of the common humanity between Serbians, Bulgarians, and Greeks would exceed the differences. He was probably thinking of New York when he deplored the influences by which "great ports are become giant Babels of every folk on earth torn from their earth-sanctities and simplicities."<sup>32</sup>

He conceived of the Melting Pot function of the United States as a process, which if attained would benefit the nations of both sides of the Atlantic, by rescuing some Europeans from oppression, and enriching America by incorporation of the artistic and better qualities of the older cultures. He indeed described America as "humanity's last hope." His idea of the function of the Melting Pot was what the Americanization propaganda was intended to perform. Zangwill recognized that if migration was to be useful, however regrettable the loss of the national characteristics might be, the immigrants must be assimilated to a new American type. Whether the United States could each year melt up and assimilate 100,000 people or several million people it was not for him to determine. If more material be thrown into a melting pot than it can deal with, that is the fault of those in charge of the operations, and not of the process. The essential work of a melting pot is complete assimilation with the rejection of dross. According to this conception America should assimilate its immigrants and should therefore arrange their conditions of entrance and residence, so that the States can attain its

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Melting Pot ideal. The advocates of Americanization threw away a valuable instrument when they allowed the notion to spread that the Melting Pot was opposed to their policy, instead of being the process by which that policy could be effected.

The discussion is obscured by vague use of terms. Stoddard declares that the Melting Pot could only produce a chaotic mass. "That," he says, "is what general fusion means. The only practical alternative is assimilation—the absorption of all assimilable elements into one of these human stocks, languages and cultures." But assimilation is not an alternative to fusion. Fusion is a method by which assimilation may be effected. With fusion and assimilation alike the product depends on the proportion of the constituents. Stoddard insists that in the process of assimilation the dominating assimilating factor must survive and retain its identity. It is equally just for the United States to refuse to accept a larger proportion of aliens than it can incorporate without undue disturbance of the community whether it call the incorporation melting, or fusion, or assimilation.

If the Melting Pot process were regarded as the suppression of all the national characteristics of the immigrants the result would be as impoverishing to the nation as would have been the complete suppression of provincial characteristics in Great Britain; but the Melting Pot should fuse the diverse elements into a compound, to which each constituent would contribute its best qualities.

<sup>1</sup> Kellor, "Immigration and the Future," 1920, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Garis, "Immigration Restriction," 1927, pp. 22-58.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Howe, "Civilization in the United States," 1922, p. 339.

<sup>4</sup> S. G. Fisher, "Alien Degradation of American Character," "Forum," XIV, 1893, pp. 610-11.

<sup>5</sup> I. A. Hourwich, "Economic Aspects of European Immigration to the United States," 1912, p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> P. Roberts, "The New Immigration," 1912, p. viii and last chapter.

<sup>7</sup> J. P. Gavit, "Americans by Choice," 1922, Chaps. 7 and 8.

- <sup>8</sup> M. R. Davie, "Constructive Immigration Policy," 1923, p. 27.
- <sup>9</sup> A. M. MacLean, "Modern Immigration," 1925, p. 15.
- <sup>10</sup> Kellor, "Immigration," 1920, p. 50.
- <sup>11</sup> W. Z. Ripley, "Race Factors in Labour Unions," "Atl. Monthly," XCIII, 1904, p. 300.
- <sup>12</sup> For confirmative figures, cf. pp. 99-100.
- <sup>13</sup> L. C. Money, "Peril of the White," 1925, pp. 114-15. Cf. also D. C. Brewer, "Conquest of New England by the Immigrant," 1926, pp. 242-57, for the predominance of foreign names in the industrial towns of New England.
- <sup>14</sup> "International Conciliation," No. 202, Sept., 1924. An abridgment of part of the figures has been quoted by L. C. Money, *op. cit.*, p. 112; the fuller tables are reprinted by Garis, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- <sup>15</sup> Quoted by F. Kellor, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1.
- <sup>16</sup> Kellor, *ibid.*, p. 109.
- <sup>17</sup> Kellor, *ibid.*, p. 44.
- <sup>18</sup> H. Van Dyke, "The Spirit of America," 1910, p. 13.
- <sup>19</sup> J. D. Davis, "Russian Immigration," 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>20</sup> M. R. Davie, "Constructive Immigration Policy," 1923, p. 10.
- <sup>21</sup> D. C. Brewer, "The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant," 1926, p. 3.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- <sup>25</sup> D. C. Brewer, "The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant," 1926, p. 8.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 356.
- <sup>27</sup> F. Kellor, "Immigration and the Future," 1920, p. 68.
- <sup>28</sup> Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year ended June 30, 1919, House Repr. 66th Congress, 2nd Sess., Doc. 429, 1919, p. 43.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4.
- <sup>30</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "The Melting Pot Mistake," 1925, pp. 164-96.
- <sup>31</sup> P. Roberts, "The Problem of Americanization," 1920.
- <sup>32</sup> I. Zangwill, "The Principle of Nationalities," 1917, p. 59.



## CHAPTER X

### The United States Legislation on Immigration—The Quota System

“I beheld, too, in that vision  
All the secrets of the future,  
Of the distant days that shall be.  
I beheld the westward marches  
Of the unknown crowded nations.  
All the land was full of people,  
Restless, struggling, toiling, striving,  
Speaking many tongues, yet feeling  
But one heart-beat in their bosoms.”

LONGFELLOW, “Song of Hiawatha,” XXI.

#### THE OLD INVITATION AND THE NEW

##### *The Old*

“Send us your huddled masses, yearning to be free.”

(Inscription on Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty, New York Harbour.)

“Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me;  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.”

EMMA LAZARUS.

##### *The New*

“For remember: no foreigner has any ‘right’ whatsoever to enter America. This admission is a *privilege* extended to him solely because we think he can benefit America.”

LOTHROP STODDARD, 1927.

THE concern felt in the United States at the growing disunity of its population, and such predictions as that the Anglo-Saxon would soon be as extinct as the buffalo, led at length to successful opposition to the New Immigration. People who had

welcomed the "Old Immigration" joined in the agitation against the "New," and a succession of Immigration Restriction Acts was carried through Congress. The series, with the exception of laws regulating the conditions on the immigrant ships, began with the act of 3rd August, 1882, which fixed a head tax of 50 cents on every alien passenger landed. The fund was used for the expenses connected with the landing of the immigrants. The act also prohibited the entrance of the insane and of those who through infirmity were likely to become a public charge.

The introduction of alien labour under contract was prohibited by the act of 26th February, 1885. This act was so general in its terms that according to Professor H. P. Fairchild<sup>1</sup> "it would be very difficult for any person who had the slightest idea of what he was going to do in this country to prove himself outside the letter of that law."

An act in 1891 excluded further classes of immigrants including polygamists, and those whose passage was paid for wholly or in part by others ; and it made advertisement for the encouragement of immigration illegal, and strengthened the law against contract labour. In 1894 the head tax was raised to one dollar ; it was increased to two dollars in 1903, and in the same year the list of excluded classes was lengthened by epileptics, anarchists, beggars, and prostitutes.

This legislation and the amending acts of 1887, 1888, 1891, and 1903 were codified in 1907, when the head tax was raised to four dollars and people guilty of tuberculosis or moral turpitude were added to those debarred from admission.

The next important step was the Burnett Act of 1st February, 1917, which established a literacy test. The Burnett Act raised the head tax to eight dollars, and enacted that every immigrant over sixteen years of age physically

capable of reading must be able to read from thirty to forty words of some language which the immigrant might himself select. A bill had been vetoed by President Cleveland in 1897 because of its literacy test; and the Burnett Bill was vetoed by President Taft in 1913 and twice by President Wilson. In 1915 it was passed over his veto, by overwhelming majorities in both Houses of Congress, for public opinion in the United States was distressed at the increase of illiteracy.

The literacy test is by no means satisfactory. President Wilson vetoed it on the ground that it did not test efficiency or intelligence, but merely educational opportunities. It would admit a fool from a country with a system of compulsory education, and exclude a bright intelligent worker from a country where the schools were few or inefficient. It is a national, not an individual discrimination; and the bill was probably carried over President Wilson's veto as one means of lessening the immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. Professor M. R. Davie<sup>2</sup> urges that the reading test should be replaced by one for general intelligence, like those that were used in the War camps to classify recruits according to promise and ability.

The rules for exclusion in these acts were not numerically very effective, except in so far as they may have prevented emigrants leaving Europe. According to the Report of the Commissioner-General for Immigration for 1920, only 3 per cent of the immigrants were excluded by the tests. They are not easily applied; the medical inspection is in many cases superficial; the immigrants are drawn up in line, and one in five or six are subjected to further examination, but most of them are admitted. The mental tests are so difficult to apply that "the law designed to debar the feeble-minded is practically a dead letter."<sup>3</sup>

The immigration authorities cannot tell by inspection



whether a man is an anarchist. The Commissioner-General for Immigration reported that an alien could refuse to answer questions and yet the authorities could not refuse him admission unless they could prove him to belong to one of the inadmissible classes.<sup>4</sup>

A bill was proposed in 1923 to establish a probationary class, in which every immigrant who cannot be at once certified for admission or rejection can be placed for a year. It might be found impossible to keep track of the immigrants in the probationary class, and those who might be least desirable would be the most difficult to trace and re-examine.

This legislation led up in 1921 and 1924 to two Restriction Acts that have changed the whole position of Transatlantic Migration. Those acts were deliberately framed to favour immigration from the Teutonic nations, or Nordic as they came to be called during the War when the word Teutonic was not used in polite society. The purpose of these acts was to secure the selective restriction of immigrants by establishing quota for each nationality. The act to "limit the immigration of aliens" of 19th May, 1921 (amended 1922), is often known as "the Three Per Cent Act," as it fixed the maximum number of immigrants from any nationality as 3 per cent of the foreign born of that nationality resident in the United States in 1910. The number of immigrants by this act was reduced from over a million to a maximum of 357,803; and if it had been fully effective it would have reduced the amount to less than that figure, as some countries did not use their full quota. This reduction was not regarded as sufficient, and as the 1921 act failed fully to achieve its purpose a new act in 1924 restricted the annual immigration to about 150,000 (exclusive of American immigrants and some special non-quota classes); it divided that amount between the nationalities in proportion to 2 per cent of the number of that nationality resident in the United States

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in 1890. The measure is often known as the Two Per Cent Act.

The 1921 act had extensive loopholes, as it did not apply to Canada, Mexico, or other parts of America. Hence, in addition to allowing immigrants from Cuba, the West Indies, and South America, it was possible for indefinite numbers to enter overland from Canada and Mexico. The 1921 act also allowed immigration from Canada and Mexico by aliens who had lived in these countries for two years. The demand for labour that followed the imposition of the 1921 act led to a great inrush from Canada and Mexico. The immigrants from Mexico averaged 17,600 from 1910 to 1914; in 1922 they were 19,551; but they increased to 63,768 in 1923, and 89,336 in 1924. The numbers for 1923-24 probably included many who were not legally qualified as immigrants.

The act of 1924 limits indefinite immigration to those born in Mexico and Canada. Non-American-born people have to live in Canada or Mexico for five years, and are then charged against their national quota.

The 1924 act, by Section 3, defined an immigrant as any alien from any place outside the United States entering the United States, except Government officials and their dependents, tourists, business men on temporary visits, aliens passing through the United States, seamen, etc. It enacted (Section 11a) that "the annual quota of any nationality shall be 2 per centum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States census of 1890, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100." The annual quota, the temporary quota for the years 1924-27 of the chief nations in accordance with the act of 1921, as determined by the 1924 act, and the permanent quota based on that act are shown in the following table :—

Country of origin.	Quota for 1922 under the 1921 Act.	Quota under 1924 Act based on the foreign- born residents in U.S. in 1890.	1927. Provisional quotas on basis of national origin.
Great Britain & N. Ireland . } Irish Free State }	77,342	{ 34,007 28,567	{ 73,039 <sup>6</sup> 13,862 <sup>6</sup>
Germany .	68,059	51,227	23,428
Italy . .	42,057	3,845	6,092
Poland . .	25,827	5,982	4,978
Russia . .	34,284	2,248	4,781
France . .	5,729	3,954	3,837
Sweden . .	20,042	9,561	3,259
Netherlands .	3,607	1,648	2,421
Czecho-Slovakia	14,282	3,073	2,248
Norway .	12,202	6,453	2,267
Austria . .	7,451	785	1,485
Switzerland .	3,752	2,081	1,198
Denmark .	5,694	2,789	1,004
Hungary .	5,638	473	967
Yugoslavia .	6,426	671	777
Spain . .	912	131	674
Finland . .	3,921	471	559
Rumania .	7,419	603	516
Lithuania .	2,460 (1923) <sup>5</sup>	344	494
Belgium .	1,563	512	410
Greece . .	3,294	100	367
Portugal .	2,520	503	290
Turkey . .	656	100	233
Latvia . .	1,540 (1923) <sup>5</sup>	142	184
Danzig . .	301	228	122
Esthonia .	1,348 (1923) <sup>5</sup>	124	109

The 1924 act assigns quota of 100 each to the following :—

Afghanistan	Australia, etc.
Albania	Bhutan
Andorra	Bulgaria
Arabian Peninsula	Cameroon (British)



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Cameroon (French)	New Zealand, etc.
China	New Guinea, etc.
Egypt	Palestine
Ethiopia (Abyssinia)	Persia
Iceland	Ruanda and Urundi
India	Samoa, Western
Iraq (Mesopotamia)	San Marino
Japan	Siam
Liberia	South Africa, Union of
Liechtenstein	South-West Africa
Luxemburg	Syria and the Lebanon
Monaco	Tanganyika
Morocco	Togoland (British)
Muscat (Oman)	„ (French)
Nauru	Yap
Nepal	

The list shows that the quota allotted to the nations of Southern and Eastern Europe from the 1921 act are greatly reduced by that of 1924.

The full enforcement of these acts has apparently proved impracticable. Many immigrants are smuggled through the Atlantic ports, and according to a cable from "The Times" of 10th August, 1927, the number for the year 1926-27 is estimated as 175,000. Thousands of men have crossed the Atlantic as seamen and there "desert" from their ships. The opportunity for many unauthorized aliens to enter the United States across its long land frontiers still remains, and so does the temptation while there is such a demand by its industries for unskilled labour.

The entrance of a large excess above the quota seems certain, and there is apparently little prospect of this inflow being stopped. According to Stoddard,<sup>7</sup> the smuggled aliens still number from 50,000 to 100,000 a year, in addition to the unnumbered inflow from Mexico, which now supplies the railways of the north-eastern states with most of their track labour. In that work the Italian and the Negro are

being displaced by the "Mexican peon," who, says Stoddard,<sup>8</sup> is "about the most 'alien' unassimilable creature that could be imagined."

A striking illustration of the powerlessness of the laws to exclude even the most undesirable immigrants, even from countries with a small quota, is given by the United States Secretary for Labour, the Hon. James J. Davis; the French authorities in Tunis in 1924, in order to lower the criminal element in Tunis, expelled 10,000 Italians; and despite quota and laws for the exclusion of undesirable and criminal aliens, this mob, says Davis,<sup>9</sup> was "welcomed with open arms by the United States."

Wholesale immigrant smuggling still goes on. Brewer,<sup>10</sup> in 1926, protests that "Traffickers in unlawful immigration continue to be as scandalously active as the purveyors of hooch." Stoddard,<sup>11</sup> in 1927, complains that "the immigration laws were mostly a joke, and the alien tide flowed in practically at will" under the pressure of steamship companies, corporations that want cheap labour, "boarding-bosses," saloon keepers, etc., against which is opposed "a small body of overworked inspectors."

The Mexican frontier, about two thousand miles long, is, in large part, a shallow fordable river. The Canadian frontier, with long stretches of sparsely occupied forest and mountain, also affords facilities for the "bootlegging" of immigrants. The rural districts of southern Quebec offer an easy passage. In places like Niagara, throngs of tourists cross the frontier to and fro, and though, no doubt, any man would be turned back who tried to enter the States there with his family and his household effects on a barrow, disguise as a tourist must often be effective. On the railways unauthorized immigration could only be prevented if the frontier guards had second sight. The act could only be enforced by costly frontier guards, and the risk of the incidents which in Europe have done so much to breed international friction.

The last Annual Report of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1926, suggests that the supervision along the frontiers is more active than it was at several places at which I have crossed in previous years. During the year of 1925-26 the Border Patrol examined 2,300,000 pedestrians and over 2,000,000 passengers on trains and motor vehicles,<sup>12</sup> and of them it rejected<sup>13</sup> 17,563 at the land stations and 2,987 at the seaports. Most of the rejections were due to the lack of the proper visa, which accounted for 11,579 at the land stations and 2,354 of those at the seaports. The other chief reasons at the land stations were that the people were "likely to be a public charge," 3,464; contract labourers, 721; unable to read, 629; mentally or physically defective, 353. It is estimated that in the following year 175,000 people were smuggled into the country, so the rejected were probably only a small proportion of those who escaped. Considering the length and ease of crossing much of the frontier unobserved, unless the people rejected had so little enterprise or capacity as to be ill-suited for life in the States, they doubtless passed in on another day by another route. The frontier guard, according to the last Report of the Commissioner-General<sup>14</sup> during 1925-26, had an average staff of 516. They have to guard a coastline which, excluding the indentations, according to an estimate of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, is 5715 miles long, and land frontiers of over 4700 miles; so that each man would have to guard a length of over twenty miles.

An objection to the quota more serious than the difficulty of their enforcement, is that they are one-sided and clumsy. The two acts look at the problem only from the American point of view; Dr. Peter Roberts<sup>15</sup> remarks that "our legislators have usually considered only America's interests in enacting laws regulating emigration and immigration." The quota should be to some extent adjusted to the relative needs of the different emigrant countries. The numbers



from the European nationalities in the United States at any date have been accidental. Emigration was at first largely from England owing to social and religious persecution. Subsequently clearances for sheep farms and deer forests led to a great influx from the Scottish Highlands. The potato disease drove to America large numbers of Irish. A spurt in the timber industry would draw there a strong contingent from Scandinavia. The quota system is based on national discrimination and it discriminates between the nations on clumsy lines. The fact that the United States is willing to receive annually one Swede out of every 600, or 16 per cent of the Swedes, while prepared to admit only one Spaniard out of every 93,000, or .001 per cent of them, does not imply that America regards one Swede as worth 156 Spaniards. It is a mechanical expression of the fact that Sweden had no colonies but a large number of expert lumbermen, whereas Spain, having had a great colonial empire and intimate connection with most of South America, sent few people to the United States.

The 1924 act deliberately selected a date that would give very low quota for the nations of southern and eastern Europe ; it applied a bare numerical test to the different nations of the New Immigration without considering their quality or their migration needs. It placed Italy, Russia, Syria, and Greece together without consideration of the number of the applications or of the motives for emigration from them.

Many of the imperfections of the act were due to its hasty preparation as an Emergency Measure. The industries of the United States were not prosperous in 1920, and conditions in Europe were far worse. Emigration to America on a greater scale than ever was being prepared, and from the applications for consular visas the United States authorities were warned that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 million immigrants proposed to enter the United States in the year.<sup>16</sup> As the United States then had a large number of unemployed, this inrush might

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have been disastrous. The immigration officials had no power to prevent it. The 1921 act was therefore hastily prepared and passed to reduce the threatened invasion from perhaps two millions to about 350,000. The 1924 act lowered that total to a number that cannot be materially over 150,000, exclusive of those from America.

Both the 1921 and 1924 acts have been severely criticized in the United States though adoption of their principles may be irrevocable.

"The 3 per cent law is merely quantitative," says Professor M. R. Davie.<sup>17</sup> "It may have some value as a rule of thumb, but that is the most that can be said for it. It is not scientifically sound." "This type of law," he continues, "is a clumsy method of effecting an end which may be desirable."

Davie quotes an editorial article from the "New York Times" (19th July, 1921) which declares that the system combines "the minimum of effectiveness and the maximum of hardship and inconvenience"; and he declares that "the literacy test and the present quota system are ill-advised as permanent measures and should be given up. They have not contributed anything to a permanent immigration policy."<sup>18</sup>

The acts, moreover, are difficult to work fairly. In order to prevent at the beginning of each quota year a rush of immigrants which would overwhelm the immigration staff and accommodation, the quota for each country was divided into monthly parts. As soon as the month's quota for a nation was full, a ship carrying immigrants from it had to remain outside the three-mile line until the following month. In July, 1921, when the system was new, it led to great uncertainty; one ship with the full month's quota of Greeks secured their admission by reaching dock two minutes before another, whose Greek passengers were therefore sent back to Europe to try again. In a case quoted by Davie some immigrants who arrived on 30th June, 1922, the last day of the quota year, were excluded as the quota for the

year was full, and they were sent back to Europe ; whereas they would have been admitted if the ship had arrived a few hours later.

Cases of personal hardship were inevitable. A French woman was admitted, whereas her son who had been born in the Seychelles was excluded, as he was classified as African and the African quota for that month was full. The same fate befell an English family, as the daughter had been born during a visit to Australia, and the Australian quota for the month was exhausted.

Cases which compelled a departure from the letter of the law arose in the case of countries which had a quota of half an immigrant a month, as was the allowance for Liberia. It appeared that the first visitor from that State after the 1921 act had come into operation, who was the Mayor of Monrovia, the capital, would have to enter in halves ; but he was admitted, after reference of his case to the authorities in Washington, as they could not deal with " such anatomical fractions." This difficulty was removed by the 1924 act, which fixed the minimum for each nationality at 100. That rule is itself artificial, and gives the Republic of Andorra and the Principality of Lichtenstein each the same quota as Bulgaria ; and amongst the States of Asia places the Island of Yap on an equality with India or China.

## THE QUOTA BASED ON NATIONAL ORIGIN

The 2 per cent quota, established in 1924, were to be replaced on 1st July, 1927, by permanent figures based on a more complex and speculative calculation. The annual quota of 1st July, 1927, and subsequent years " shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States<sup>19</sup> in 1920 having that national origin (ascertained as hereinafter provided in this section) bears to the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920," the minimum to be 100. The number of inhabitants in continental United States







used for this calculation excludes immigrants from Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico, etc., their descendants, and also excludes Negroes, American Indians, and some other classes. The number of each national origin is to be determined by migration statistics with allowance for the usual rates of increase. The difficult task of determining the national origin of every inhabitant of the United States was allotted to three Government Secretaries (the Secretaries of State, of Commerce, and of Labour). The new quota were to be published in April, 1927. They were to be brought into operation by proclamation by the President, and until then the 2 per cent quota of 1924 would remain in force.

The determination of the new quotas on the basis of national origin is a very intricate problem. It seemed so impossible that on first reading the act I felt I must have misunderstood the meaning of the clause. The Commission to whom the work is entrusted has divided the white population of the United States into the "original native stock," which includes all those who were resident in the United States at the first census in 1790, and their descendants of whom those living are estimated to number 41,000,000. All those who came in after 1790 and their descendants are classified as the "immigration stock," and they now number  $53\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Both stocks are subdivided according to their national origin, which appears to be inferred mainly, especially for the original native stock, from their personal names.

Family names are a very unreliable guide. The same name is used by different nationalities, or if it be differently spelt it is easily and often altered into the English form. Upon the basis of name the child of a foreign father, even if all its other ancestors were British, would be counted as foreign; whereas a child whose father has an English name would be counted as English although all its other ancestors were foreign. It must also be almost impossible satisfactorily to allot the results of international marriages. Should



Theodore Roosevelt be credited to his Dutch, French, Scottish, Irish, or German forbears? If two races which differ in colour had resided side by side and freely intermarried for a century, the establishment of any clear-cut national classification of their descendants would be very difficult. The task becomes purely arbitrary and artificial when people of closely allied nationalities have been living side by side, as in the case of some families, for two or three centuries. It is accordingly not surprising that the three Departmental Secretaries—Messrs. F. B. Kellogg, Herbert Hoover, and J. W. Davis—in communicating the Report to President Coolidge, 3rd January, 1927, state that “in our opinion the statistical and historical information available raises grave doubts as to the whole value of these computations as a basis for the purposes intended. We therefore cannot assume responsibility for such conclusions under these circumstances.”

High experts in America have vigorously protested against basing the quota on national origin, and efforts are being made to maintain the temporary quota adopted for 1924–27 under the 2 per cent law. It was hoped that the 1924 quota might go on indefinitely, as the President might refrain from proclaiming the new quotas if he thought them undesirable; but the Courts have decided that the clause in the act is obligatory, and that quota based on national origin must be imposed unless the act be altered.

Proposals are to be made to the Congress at its next session to alter the act and maintain the quota based on the 2 per cent of the nationality resident in the United States in 1890. Proposals are also contemplated for the extension of the quota system to the rest of America owing to the great increase of immigrants from Canada and Mexico, and the majority of coloured races elsewhere. The restriction of immigration from Latin America is advocated on the ground that of the 90,000,000 residents in America south of the United States, apart from Argentine and Uruguay, an

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overwhelming proportion belongs to the coloured races.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, however, the Commission appointed by the three Secretaries has proposed quota which it regards as sufficiently near the intentions of the 1924 act to be acceptable. The quota proposed, with those appointed for 1924 to 1927, are shown in the table on page 111.

The recorded migration, both inward and outward, in the year 1926-27, was as follows :—

FISCAL YEAR, 1927					
Countries.				Immigrants.	Emigrants.
Canada	.	.	.	81,506	1,953
Mexico	.	.	.	67,721	2,957
Germany	.	.	.	48,513	4,748
Irish Free State	.	.	.	28,054	1,049
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	.	.	.	24,181	6,664
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia	.	.	.	17,297	17,759
Poland	.	.	.	9,211	2,650
France, including Corsica	.	.	.	4,405	1,638
Czecho-Slovakia	.	.	.	3,540	2,276
Newfoundland	.	.	.	3,174	487
Cuba	.	.	.	3,020	1,598
South America	.	.	.	2,688	1,244
Denmark	.	.	.	2,505	536
Switzerland	.	.	.	2,121	594
Greece	.	.	.	2,089	3,130
Central America	.	.	.	1,771	721
Netherlands	.	.	.	1,733	456
China	.	.	.	1,471	4,179
Rumania	.	.	.	1,270	1,248
Yugo-Slavia	.	.	.	1,190	1,911
Russia	.	.	.	1,183	239
Brazil	.	.	.	1,089	209
Austria	.	.	.	1,016	468

It is interesting then to note from this table that the bulk

of the immigration is from Canada and Mexico, while there is an excess of emigrants over new arrivals from Italy, China, and Japan.

Perusal of the 1924 act had left me sadly puzzled as to how any satisfactory scheme of classification of the American people, according to national origin, could be worked out. Hence I cannot but sympathize with the feelings of Senator Reid of Missouri who, in a speech in the Senate<sup>21</sup> declared that the determination of the race origin of the population is impossible, as there were probably "men in this Chamber who have four or five different national bloods in their veins." He declared that the classification drawn up by the Commission was the result of mere guesswork, and he adds, "It is the wildest kind of a guess. The national-origins law is the most impractical thing I ever saw written into a law, and it opens the door for all kinds of unfairness and injustice."

<sup>1</sup> H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," 1913, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> M. R. Davie, "Constructive Immigration Policy," 1923, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by M. R. Davie, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 17. Cf. A. C. Reed, "The Medical Side of Immigration," "Pop. Sci. Mon.," Vol. 80, 1912, p. 389.

<sup>4</sup> M. R. Davie, *op. cit.*, 1923, pp. 19-20, refers to this difficulty.

<sup>5</sup> The admission of these States to separate quota in 1923 is partly responsible for the reduction of the Russian quota for 1923 to 24,405.

<sup>6</sup> According to the estimates in 1924 the quota for Great Britain and Northern Ireland should be 85,135, and that for the Irish Free State should be only 8330.

<sup>7</sup> T. L. Stoddard, "Reforging America," 1927, p. 211.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 216.

<sup>9</sup> James J. Davis, "Selective Immigration," 1925, pp. 80, 81.

<sup>10</sup> D. C. Brewer, "The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant," 1926, p. 357.

<sup>11</sup> T. L. Stoddard, "Reforging America," 1927, p. 159.

<sup>12</sup> Ann. Rep. Commissioner-General of Immigration, U.S. Dept. Labour, 1926, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> P. Roberts, "New Immigration," 1912, p. ix.

<sup>16</sup> The U.S. Secretary for Labour, in a speech at Buenos Aires, 28th Nov., 1924, stated that 10 million Europeans then wished to enter the United States. Cf. "Industr. and Lab. Inf.," XIII, No. 5, 1-25, p. 63.



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<sup>17</sup> M. R. Davie, "Constructive Immigration Policy," 1923, p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> This expression excludes Alaska as well as the Islands.

<sup>20</sup> R. F. Foerster, "Racial Problems involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States," U.S. Dept. Labour, 1925 ("Mon. Rec. Migr.," I.L.O., No. 41, 1926, p. 57).

<sup>21</sup> Quoted by Garis, "Immigration Restriction," 1927, p. 280. This clause is described by Lothrop Stoddard as "truly a master-stroke of constructive legislation," and the act, of which it was "the most striking feature," "saved America from impending ruin." "Reforging America," 1927, pp. 170, 203.

## CHAPTER XI

### Brazil and Argentina

“What should we do but sing His praise  
That led us thro’ the watery maze  
Where He the huge sea-monsters wracks,  
That lift the deep upon their backs,  
Unto an isle so long unknown,  
And yet far kinder than our own?  
He lands us on a grassy stage,  
Safe from the storms, and prelate’s rage;  
He gave us this eternal spring  
Which here enamels everything.”

ANDREW MARVELL, “Song of the Emigrants in Bermuda.”

**O**N the western shore of the South Atlantic are two great States—Brazil and Argentina—where immigration has great possibilities owing to the vast areas of rich and sparsely peopled territory; but it there presents special features. Most of South America is occupied by a composite race due to the intermixture of two or three distinct races. Occasional areas have a higher proportion of European than the rest, but most of the continent is occupied by people of uncertain racial composition.

#### A.—BRAZIL

In Brazil this confusion of race is worse confounded, as in addition to the mixture of Indians, who are Mongolians, with south Europeans, there is a large infusion of Negroes imported as slaves. Brazil has the advantage of an unequalled extent of Equatorial lowland. The Amazon flows through vast alluvial plains which are amply watered,

enjoy a climate favourable to luxuriant crops, and have a soil of boundless fertility. The only other continent which has an equal area in the tropics is Africa, and it is hampered by its general high elevation and its consequently irregular and uncertain water supply. Hitherto but little use has been made of the Amazon plains, and there has been no material progress toward the fulfilment of Colonel Gorgas's dream of their becoming, after the conquest of the diseases and by cultivation by the white man, the most prolific food-producing area in the world. The European occupation of this area seems to me quite possible for reasons stated elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> but it is possible only if the economic conditions protect the white man from underselling by labourers in a lower stage of culture. Whether that condition can be realized depends upon factors more difficult to overcome than the jungle and the mosquito. There is no movement which encourages us to expect the attainment of Colonel Gorgas's vision within any time which need be taken into practical account.

The primary European population of Brazil is Portuguese, and it was supplemented by colonies of Italians, Germans, and Spaniards, many of whom have made great efforts to keep distinct from the mixed Brazil nationality. The population of Brazil in 1900 was  $17\frac{1}{3}$  millions, but by 1920 there was a rapid increase to  $30\frac{2}{3}$  millions, which represented an occupation of 9.3 persons per square mile. Between 1920 and 1925 the immigrants numbered almost 4,000,000 (3,918,349); the people in the Argentine of European origin, as distinct from South Americans, may be regarded as about 16 per cent. The national origin of the population in 1920 is recorded as follows :—

Italians . . . . .	558,405
Portuguese . . . . .	433,575
Spaniards . . . . .	219,142
Germans . . . . .	52,870



Asiatic Turks . . . .	50,251
Uruguayans . . . .	32,621
Japanese . . . .	27,976
Austrians . . . .	26,354
Argentinians . . . .	22,117
Miscellaneous . . . .	141,650
	<hr/>
	1,564,961

The Indians in the Amazon area are estimated at 600,000.

This record classifies about 5 per cent of the population as of foreign origin.

In the Southern States there has been large group colonization, including 558,405 Italians, 433,577 Portuguese, and 219,142 Spaniards, representing probably the greatest group colonies of modern times.

Brazil has welcomed these colonies and has not started upon any active Brazilianization policy. At one time there was serious alarm lest the growing German colonies might secure a dominant influence in Brazil, but in view of such estimates as that the German population was only 52,870 in 1920, this fear has been allayed.

Brazil, recognizing the difficulties of the association of white and coloured unskilled labour, has founded a series of Federal Colonies where unskilled labourers of the two races will not come into direct competition. The establishment of these Colonies is a remarkable testimony to the difficulty of white and coloured competition, from a State which might be least expected to admit it.

Owing to the difficulties in arranging satisfactory terms for immigrants from Italy, Brazil has given favourable consideration to Japan.

Proposals were made in Brazil in 1924 to stimulate emigration from Japan, and though little was done at that time, Japan in the following year expressed her preference for Brazil over the South Sea Islands as a seat for emigration, and proposed to send out 3000 fresh emigrants. In the

present year further Japanese emigration to Brazil is being arranged.

### B.—ARGENTINA

The Argentine presents a simpler immigration problem than Brazil, because the population, though cosmopolitan, is largely European. The population of the Argentine (1st January, 1926) is estimated at 9,613,305, or 6.83 per square mile. The largest element in it is the Italian which amounts to over 2,000,000. The population was small till 1869 when it was only 1,877,490, but between then and 1924 it increased more than fivefold, to an amount estimated at 10,000,000,<sup>2</sup> or a rise of 18 per cent from 1914. Hence the original population, which was a mixture mainly of Spanish and Indian, was overwhelmed by the immigrants. The following table from the Argentine Yearbook (1914, p. 94) states the nationality of the population in 1895 :—

		%	% of Foreigners.
Argentines . . .	2,950,384	74.60	—
Uruguayans . . .	48,650	1.23	4.84
Brazilians . . .	24,725	0.62	2.46
Chilians . . .	20,594	0.52	2.05
Paraguayans . . .	14,562	0.37	1.45
Bolivians . . .	7,361	0.19	0.73
United States . . .	1,381	0.04	0.14
Other Americans . . .	859	0.02	0.08
Italians . . .	492,636	12.46	49.04
Spaniards . . .	198,685	5.02	19.78
French . . .	94,098	2.39	9.37
British . . .	21,788	0.55	2.17
Germans . . .	17,143	0.43	1.71
Swiss . . .	14,789	0.37	1.47
Austrians . . .	12,803	0.32	1.28
Other Europeans . . .	30,825	0.78	3.07
„ Races . . .	3,628	0.09	0.36
	<hr/> 3,954,911	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

The immigration from 1905 to 1913 showed an excess of immigrants over emigrants of from 100,000 to over 200,000 a year :—

	Immigration.	Emigration.	Excess.
1905 . .	177,117	42,869	134,248
1906 . .	252,536	60,124	192,412
1907 . .	209,103	90,190	118,913
1908 . .	255,710	85,412	170,298
1909 . .	231,084	94,644	136,440
1910 . .	289,640	97,854	191,786
1911 . .	225,772	120,709	105,063
1912 . .	323,403	119,933	203,470
1913 . .	302,047	156,829	145,218

The national composition of the pre-War immigrants may be judged from the two years 1910 and 1913 :—

Immigrants.	1910.	1913.
Spaniards . . . .	131,466	122,271
Italians . . . .	102,019	114,252
Turks and Syrians . .	15,478	19,542
Russians . . . .	12,765	18,626
Austrians and Hungarians .	5,236	4,317
French . . . .	4,380	4,696
Germans . . . .	3,282	4,620
Portuguese . . . .	2,848	3,619
Greeks . . . .	3,289	849
British . . . .	1,825	2,132
Swiss . . . .	710	880
Danish . . . .	553	819
North Americans . .	467	519
Belgians . . . .	349	477
Dutch . . . .	281	292
Various . . . .	4,692	3,936
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	289,640	302,047



The total population at the last census, that of 1914, was 7,885,237, including the following:—

Argentinians	.	.	.	5,527,285
Italians	.	.	.	929,863
Spaniards	.	.	.	829,701
Russians	.	.	.	93,634
Uruguayans	.	.	.	86,428
French	.	.	.	79,491
Turks and Syrians	.	.	.	64,639
British	.	.	.	27,692
Germans	.	.	.	26,995
Swiss	.	.	.	14,345
Portuguese	.	.	.	14,143

The people still classified then as Indians numbered 15,000, and there were only 500 Negroes, an insignificant proportion compared to that in Brazil. The population was therefore mainly contributed by immigration. Those who claim that immigration does not add to the population of a country would find the Argentine a difficult case to reconcile with that theory.

The Argentine has been one of the most successful States with immigration, and it affords an instructive lesson of what can be done to increase the population by well-planned immigration, which has been steadily encouraged. The 25th article of the constitution ordains that "the Federal Government shall encourage European immigration and shall not restrict, limit, or place any tax upon the entry into Argentine territory of foreigners who come with the object of cultivating the soil, and engaging in the local industries." The Government early made excellent arrangements for the comfort of the immigrants. Most of them land at Buenos Aires, and close to the landing-stage is a large immigrants' hotel with a dining-room which accommodates 1000 persons, large dormitories, a reading-room, garden, and an infirmary. The immigrants are accommodated at this hotel free of charge for five days.

If they are ill on arrival the cost of their maintenance during illness is charged to the State. The goods of the immigrants are admitted free of duty. The Immigration Department tries to find them work; they are transported to any province free of charge, and kept there free for ten days. The Immigrants Department, at the request of the immigrant, will advise him as to the fairness of a labour contract. Immigrants' hotels on similar lines are there to help the immigrants at Rosario in Santa Fé and at Bahia Blanca in the southern province.

A disappointing decline in immigration in 1925 led to measures in 1926 to re-stimulate it. The Government purchased fresh land, which it could sell to immigrants on long-time purchase terms, and it organized an extensive settlement scheme in the province of Rio Negro. The Argentine railway companies co-operated by land settlement schemes along their lines.

The problem on which Argentine offers most interest as regards British emigration is upon the capacity of such a country to absorb immigrants. From 1910-13 there was a net immigration, that is an excess of immigrants over emigrants, of an average of 156,000 a year. During and after the War this number was greatly reduced, but for the three years 1922-24 it has again risen to 114,000 per annum. In 1925 there was, however, a fall to 78,205. The figures of immigration and emigration for the years 1920-25 are given in the following list :—

		Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess of Immigrants.
1920	. .	115,302	80,268	35,034
1921	. .	122,367	62,900	59,467
1922	. .	161,009	72,759	88,250
1923	. .	232,501	76,520	155,981
1924	. .	191,169	75,562	115,607
1925	. .	209,873	131,668	78,205
				<hr/>
				532,544

The proportion of the European nationalities in the 1925 list are as follows :—

Italian . . . . .	55,557
Spanish . . . . .	35,852
Polish . . . . .	9,122
German . . . . .	4,933
Yugo-Slav . . . . .	2,543
Czecho-Slovak . . . . .	2,091
Portuguese . . . . .	1,712
Russian . . . . .	1,630
French . . . . .	1,341
Lithuanian . . . . .	1,043
Syrian . . . . .	918
British . . . . .	913

The marked increase in the immigration in 1922 and 1923, with no great change in those years in the emigration, was probably due to the diversion of Italians to the Argentine by the United States Restriction Act of 1921.

The capacity of a country such as the Argentine with a total population of 10,000,000, and a density of 8·8 to the square mile to absorb from 1905 to 1913 an average of over 150,000 immigrants a year, suggests that Australia with its larger coasts, more numerous ports, and the more independent activity of the separate States, might absorb a larger number.

<sup>1</sup> "Menace of Colour," 1925, Chap. VIII, pp. 173-215.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. Money, "Peril of White," 1925, p. 193.



## CHAPTER XII

### The Immigration Problem in Canada

"Come o'er the waters deep and dark and blue ;  
Come where the lilies in the marge have sprung,  
Come with me, love, for oh, my love is true !  
This is the song that on the lake was sung."

WHITMAN (a Negro poet).

CANADA, with one-sixteenth of the world's area and one two-hundredth of the population, has still plenty of room for the immigrants which she is making every effort to obtain. "All that Canada is to-day she is because of the immigrants who have come to her shores, and every citizen; not a descendant of the original natives, is either an immigrant or the descendant of immigrants. Without these immigrants she would still be peopled by the Red Man; her western prairies would still be the pasture land of the buffalo, and her eastern forests the hunting grounds of the aborigines. The fact is so self-evident that it needs only to be stated to be accepted."<sup>1</sup>

The immigration problems of Canada are complicated by the constitution of its people of two stocks, in addition to the Indian aborigines who are Mongolian, and also by the necessary adaptation of its immigration policy to that of its powerful neighbour the United States. Canada enjoys great advantages as regards immigration, for its proximity to the United States provides an outflow for its unemployed in times of difficulty and a field of recruitment of labour during a spurt of activity. It is attractive to emigrants

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from North-western Europe owing to its convenient access by sea, the easy personal adjustment to the climatic conditions and as the agricultural products are similar, European farming experience is useful. The chief disadvantages are that the best agricultural land is far in the interior and separated from the Atlantic coast by 1500 miles of rocky and swampy fir forest; the summer is short, and the winter bitterly severe. The export of produce is hampered by the freezing of the harbours, so that unless the harvest can be shipped early it has to be exported through the United States, or by the long route via Vancouver and the Panama Canal, or it is delayed till the following year. Owing to these drawbacks the growth of the population of Canada at first was slow. The settlement began with the foundation of Port Royal, or Annapolis, N.S., in 1605. The first British settlers arrived in 1623, and in 1665 the first census of modern times showed that the population of "New France" was 3215. When Canada was ceded to Britain in 1763 the population of the combined French and British Canadian Territories was about 90,000. In 1800 the number had risen to about 250,000. In 1871, at the first census of the Dominion of Canada (which does not include Newfoundland), the population was 3,689,257; in 1901 it was 5,371,315; in 1921, 8,788,483, and it is now about 10,000,000. This number includes, according to the 1921 census, 110,596 Indians who, despite the general impression, are slowly but steadily increasing. The fluctuation in their recorded numbers in successive census returns is due to the varying inclusion or exclusion of half-breeds, and the fact that Indians who are enfranchised cease to be Indian according to the law and the official records. The numbers in separate provinces have varied with alterations in the provincial boundaries.

The growth of the population was slow, in spite of all the advantages, until the Western Plains were reached by railways. The railway development of Eastern Canada was

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begun in 1851. The construction of a trans-continental railway was agreed to in 1871, but progress with it was dilatory until in 1880 it was entrusted to the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate, which completed the trans-continental line in 1885. It rendered possible the cultivation of the western wheat-fields, and its opening led to an increase in the population by 1,900,000 in the decades 1901 to 1911. It had taken Canada three centuries to gain by 1901 the population which Australia had attained in one.

The railway system of Canada was built much faster than it was made effective by adequate immigration, so that it has proved a heavy burden on the Dominion. The railway deficit for the year 1920 on the Government Railways was 80½ million dollars ; and despite severe economies and better trade it was still 41½ million dollars for 1925.<sup>2</sup>

This deficit has naturally modified the Canadian immigration policy, for the present policy of land settlement aims at the utilization of the millions of acres of fertile privately-owned but still unoccupied land that is within ready access of the existing railways ; it discourages settlements which would require additional railway construction at an early date.

The utilization of the railway system was dependent also on the development of wheats, such as the Marquise, which can withstand the early frosts that were often fatal to the first grown varieties. The development of the great mining fields of Ontario, notably the copper and nickel fields of Sudbury, the silver and cobalt field at Cobalt, and the gold-field at Porcupine, each in turn gave an extra stimulation to western settlement.

The population of Canada is overwhelmingly British and French. The national elements in it are enumerated in the following table, showing the growth by numbers and percentages at the census of 1871, 1911, and 1921 :—



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Origin.	1871.	1911.	1921.	1871. %	1911. %	1921. %
English . . .	706,369	1,823,150	2,545,496	20·26	25·30	28·96
Scottish . . .	549,946	997,880	1,173,637	15·78	13·85	13·35
Irish . . .	846,414	1,050,384	1,107,817	24·28	14·58	12·61
Other . . .	7,773	25,571	41,953	0·23	0·35	0·48
Total British .	2,110,502	3,896,985	4,888,903	60·55	54·08	55·40
	1871.	1911.	1921.	1871.	1911.	1921.
French . . .	1,082,940	2,054,890	2,452,751	31·07	28·52	27·91
German . . .	202,991	393,320	294,636	5·82	5·46	3·35
Scandinavian .	1,623	107,535	167,359	0·05	1·49	1·90
Hebrew . . .	125	75,681	126,196	—	1·05	1·44
Dutch . . .	29,662	54,986	117,506	0·85	0·76	1·34
Indian . . .	23,035	105,492	110,814	0·66	1·46	1·26
Austrian . . .	—	42,535	107,671	—	0·59	1·23
Ukranian . . .	—	74,963	106,721	—	1·04	1·22
Russian . . .	607	43,142	100,064	0·02	0·60	1·14
Italian . . .	1,035	45,411	66,769	0·03	0·63	0·76
Polish . . .	—	38,365	53,403	—	0·46	0·61
Chinese . . .	—	27,774	39,587	—	0·39	0·45
Finnish . . .	—	15,497	21,474	—	0·22	0·24
Belgian . . .	—	9,593	20,234	—	0·13	0·23
Unspecified .	7,561	147,345	21,249	·22	2·04	0·24

Of the nationalities with less than 20,000 in 1921 the chief in order of number were the Negro, Japanese, Bulgarian and Rumanian (combined), Hungarian, Swiss, with each over 10,000 and the Czech, Greek, Jugo-Slav (Serbo-Croatian), and Turkish.

The bulk of the population is Canadian-born and the next largest element is the British-born; but the proportions of both have fallen since 1871, the native-born from 83 per cent to 77·7 per cent, and the British-born from 14 per cent to 12 per cent, owing to increased immigration from the United States and Europe. The statistics of the four elements is as follows:—

	1871.	1911.	1921.	1871. %	1911. %	1921. %
Canadian-born .	2,894,186	5,619,682	6,832,747	83·04	77·98	77·75
British-born .	496,477	834,229	1,065,454	14·24	11·58	12·12
Born in United States . .	64,447	303,680	374,024	1·85	4·21	4·25
Born in other countries .	30,651	449,052	516,258	0·87	6·23	5·88



*By permission of the*

*Canadian Government*

A SETTLER'S HOME IN WESTERN CANADA

The owner emigrated from South Uist in the Outer Hebrides.





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According to the 1921 census the members of the British stock numbered 4,868,903, or 55·4 per cent, and those of the French stock 2,452,751, or 27·91 per cent, the two amounting to 83·31 per cent. The British proportion was then twice that of the French, which tends to increase owing to the high birth-rate of the French-Canadian. Quebec, the main French province, has the highest rate of natural increase of any civilized country in the world. Its rate in recent years was 23·4 per thousand in 1921 and 22 per thousand in 1924, whereas the average in Australia in recent years has been 14·26 per thousand, in England and Wales 7·2 per thousand, and in France ·43 per thousand. The birth-rate of the British in Canada is low, and one-third of the natural increase in the Dominion is contributed by the province of Quebec. Hence the French population is not only increasing its majority in that province, but is making a large overflow contribution to the population of Ontario. The greatest immigration into Canada was in the year 1912-13, when the amount was 402,432, of which 150,542 were British, 139,009 came from the United States, and 112,881 from other countries.

The overflow from the United States, which had formerly been small, became active with the opening of the western provinces, and the exhaustion of free land in the United States. Canada had rarely received from this source over 50,000 a year before 1910; from then till 1914 entered over 100,000 a year; after 1914 the number reached the post-War maximum of 71,000 in 1918, and was below 40,000 for six years, and as low as 15,818 in 1925.

This immigration was sometimes greatly exceeded by the Canadian emigration into the United States, which amounted to 47,221 in 1925, and the rate was much higher in the first half of 1926-27. This emigration is due partly to harvest work in the north-eastern states, to which many eastern Canadians go for a few months; but it is partly due to Canada being used as a loophole for entry

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into the United States and escape of its Quota Restrictions. The great majority of those recorded in the official returns are however Canadian-born citizens, who amounted to 83 per cent of them in 1924, and 85 per cent in 1925. This migration is therefore largely due to Canadians, who go south to benefit by the shortage of labour in the United States caused by the restricted immigration from Europe.

The main danger to Canada from immigration is due to the possibility of the country being swamped by an unassimilable number of people from Southern and Eastern Europe. An inflow that was regarded as a serious danger by the United States with its population of 105,000,000, would overwhelm Canada with its bi-national population of only 10,000,000. So far, however, there has been no unmanageable number of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Canada is not especially attractive to the Mediterranean peoples owing to the climate and agricultural differences, and the hardship of a Canadian winter to Southern Europeans. They, moreover, are mostly unskilled labourers who enter the industrial cities of the United States. Canada has comparatively few openings in manufactures and most of the new-comers have to work on the land. The urban population in the United States dwelling in towns of over 5000 inhabitants in 1920 was 47 per cent of the total ; whereas according to the 1921 census, the same element in the Canadian population was only 36·5 per cent. Canadians are, however, becoming more urban, for in 1921 the number in the towns became equal to that of the rural population, and the town dwellers will probably form a steadily increasing majority.

The industrial development of Canada will increase its attraction to the immigrants who have been excluded from the United States, and their inrush into Canada may compel the Dominion to adopt similar measures to those adopted by the United States. This danger has not hitherto been serious. In 1925-26 the British immigrants were but slightly

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less than those from the mainland of Europe, the numbers being respectively 37,030 and 39,480 ; the number from the United States was 18,778. The national composition of the list from the mainland of Europe is as follows :—

German	.	.	.	.	7,356
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	4,259
Magyar	.	.	.	.	4,112
Jew	.	.	.	.	3,587
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	3,552
Pole	.	.	.	.	2,535
Slovak	.	.	.	.	2,046
Italian	.	.	.	.	1,638
Finn	.	.	.	.	1,617
Yugo-Slav	.	.	.	.	1,604
Dutch	.	.	.	.	1,180
Belgian	.	.	.	.	1,063
Croatian	.	.	.	.	1,006
Miscellaneous	.	.	.	.	3,925
					<hr/>
					39,480

In 1926-27, however, the British proportion was greatly reduced ; for though the British immigrants rose to 49,784, the continental European contingent increased to 73,182.

The Canadian Immigration Department has kindly supplied me with a list of the numbers in the non-British nationalities. They may be classified as in the following list, adopting the terms Old and New Immigration as used in the United States.

Old Migration (North-Western Europe)	Belgian	.	.	.	2,080
	Dutch	.	.	.	1,674
	French	.	.	.	548
	German	.	.	.	12,540
	Scandinavian—				
	Danish	2,030	}		8,072
Icelandic	30				
Norwegian	3,384				
Swedish	2,628				
				———	24,914



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New Migration A (Eastern Baltic countries)	Esthonian . . .	92	
	Finnish . . .	5,180	
	Jewish (probably mostly hence) . . .	4,471	
	Lettish . . .	60	
	Lithuanian . . .	842	
	Polish . . .	6,505	
	Russian . . .	1,127	
	Ruthenian . . .	9,995	
		<hr/>	28,272
New Migration B (Mediterranean)	Albanian . . .	17	
	Armenian . . .	65	
	Austrian . . .	401	
	Bohemian . . .	22	
	Bulgarian . . .	126	
	Croatian . . .	1,085	
	Czech . . .	721	
	Greek . . .	340	
	Herzegovinian . . .	3	
	Italian . . .	3,301	
	Jugo-Slav . . .	2,084	
	Magyar . . .	4,863	
	Maltese . . .	33	
	Montenegrin . . .	5	
	Moravian . . .	36	
	Portuguese . . .	14	
	Roumanian . . .	292	
	Serbian . . .	885	
	Slovak . . .	4,274	
	Spanish . . .	29	
	Swiss . . .	568	
	Syrian . . .	218	
	Turkish . . .	8	
		<hr/>	19,390
Miscellaneous	Arabian . . .	4	
	Chinese . . .	2	
	East Indian . . .	60	

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Japanese . . .	475	
Korean . . .	1	
Mexican . . .	1	
Negro . . .	51	
Persian . . .	6	
Spanish-American .	6	
	<hr/>	606
		<hr/>
		73,182

The great increase from eastern Europe has been, not unnaturally, from the northern countries. People from the Mediterranean are repelled by the rigours of the Canadian winter, whereas the natives of the East Baltic States find it no more severe than their own. The classification on the list is not fully correct, as some of the Russians doubtless are from the south; but the table, with its 28,272 people from the East Baltic States compared with 19,390 from the Mediterranean, illustrates the diversion to Canada of the East Baltic emigrants by their exclusion from the United States. The number of these immigrants has, however, not yet led to discrimination against any European nationality.

Oriental immigration has been stopped. Chinese emigrants were admitted from 1885 to 1923, but they had to pay a head tax which was raised in 1904 to 500 dollars. The average entry from 1901-22 was 2554 a year; but as this number was deemed excessive the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 finally excluded all Chinese immigrants, and allowed the admission only of Chinese Government officials, and of merchants and students who were provided with passports.

Japanese immigration into Canada was insignificant up to 1905, but after the Russo-Japanese War there was a considerable influx, and 7601 entered in 1908. They mostly settled in British Columbia. Their further entry was restricted by arrangement with the Japanese Government,

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which agreed to issue only a limited number of passports. In the eighteen years from 1909-26 the average admission of Japanese in accordance with this scheme was 595, so that the limit was presumably 600.

East Indian immigration into British Columbia was most active during 1907-8, during which 4700 Indians, mostly Sikhs, entered British Columbia. The entry of Indians who are British subjects could not be prohibited directly, but they have been excluded by the interpretation of Section 38 of the Immigration Act of 1910, which enacted that immigrants must enter Canada from their home country by a continuous voyage. As there are no ships available from India to Canada, Indian immigrants are thus absolutely excluded.

Canada also prohibits as immigrants any persons suffering from mental infirmity, tuberculosis, and dangerous infectious diseases, the blind and dumb, and drunkards, beggars and vagrants. Other classes are excluded if known to be immoral, illiterate, or believers in anarchy. Any member of the prohibited classes may be deported within five years if they are recognized after entry.

Under the Canadian Immigration Regulations of 1926, Canada has taken the power by the Canadian Order-in-Council (P.C., 534, 8, April, 1926), to prohibit the landing of all immigrants except :—

1. bona fide agriculturists entering Canada to farm and with sufficient means for their establishment ;
- 2 and 3. bona fide farm labourers and female domestic servants, if they have reasonable assurance of employment ;
4. the wife or child under eighteen of any person who is legally in Canada ;
5. any citizen of the United States who brings sufficient means for support until securing employment ;



6. British subjects who are entering from the British Isles, Newfoundland, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, or South Africa, and have adequate means of support ;
7. any person whose labour or service is required in Canada ;
8. various relatives of persons legally in Canada who will and can look after them.

These exceptions do not apply to Asiatics, so they remain absolutely excluded. The regulations retain the preference given to the following nationalities : France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia, and Germany.

The essential feature of the Canadian immigration system is not prohibition, but the active encouragement of the classes who will make themselves useful. The Canadian representative at the International Emigration Conference of 1921 declared that "the principle in force in Canada was that only those emigrants were admitted who were likely to succeed."<sup>3</sup> The inflow of the immigrants desired was stimulated by the issue of free grants of land to those who would live upon it and cultivate it. The War of 1914-18 stopped all immigration, and led to a railway financial crisis ; but with the return of prosperity in 1923 the active encouragement of immigration was again instituted, and was planned especially to secure recruits from the British Isles.

The Canadian Immigration Department endeavours to secure suitable immigrants by the widespread distribution of attractive but reliable literature. Pamphlets describing Canada and its resources are distributed lavishly, being printed in editions of hundreds of thousands. Textbooks on Canada are distributed free to schools in Britain and the United States to the number of half a million copies a year.<sup>4</sup>

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The Empire Settlement Agreement of April, 1923, arranged for advances for British agriculturists, domestic workers, and children, to pay their steamer and railway fares by a loan without interest. In 1926, by Government aid, the fares to Canada were made so low that almost every immigrant could pay them. The fare from the United Kingdom to the three Atlantic Canadian ports was £2. A further 30s. would take the settler to Toronto, £2 10s. to Winnipeg, £3 10s. to Calgary and Edmonton, and £6 across the continent to Vancouver. The children of agriculturists travelled free, and immigrants who were especially desired were helped by loans. Arrangements were also made for a loan of £300 per family to each of 1000 selected families to be sent every year to Canada, while the purchase price of their farms could be repaid in twenty-five years. This scheme has made such progress that its success is said to be assured, and in spite of rumours to the contrary is to be extended.

British children are trained in various British institutions for Canadian life; and they have given such high satisfaction that applications for their services in recent years have varied from six to fifteen times the total number of the young immigrants.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Canada, Natural Resources and Commerce," Dept. of the Interior, Ottawa, 1923, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> "Canada Year Book," 1926, p. 605.

<sup>3</sup> Rep. Intern. Emigr. Confer., 1921, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> "Canada, Natural Resources and Commerce," Dept. Interior, Ottawa, 1923, p. 334.

<sup>5</sup> "Canada Year Book, 1926," 1927, p. 177.

## CHAPTER XIII

# The Immigration Problem in Australia

“Ay, we must dwindle and decrease,  
Such fates the ruthless years unfold;  
And yet we shall not wholly cease,  
We shall not perish unconsoled;  
Nay, still shall Freedom keep her hold  
Within the sea’s inviolate fosse,  
And boast her sons of English mould,  
Ye Islands of the Southern Cross!

### ENVOY

Britannia, when thy hearth’s a-cold,  
When o’er thy grave has grown the moss,  
Still *Rule Australia* shall be trolled  
In Islands of the Southern Cross!”

ANDREW LANG, “Ballade of the Southern Cross.”

**A**USTRALIA, as the last of the continents to be settled by Europeans, is still the most sparsely populated, and though this condition is largely due to the forbidding nature and especial difficulty of the interior, they are not the only causes, because many of the coastal areas which have a good soil and excellent rainfall have a scanty population. The settlement of Australia has been delayed by its distance from Europe, for there is no adjacent land densely peopled by members of the European Race who can easily overflow into it. Despite, however, the drawbacks of distance and isolation, the population of Australia has grown with remarkable rapidity. It has reached in a century about the same population that Canada attained in three centuries. The



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natural increase of population of Australia and the companion Dominion of New Zealand, owing to their low death-rates, is, with the exception of Quebec, the fastest in the world. Nevertheless both Dominions still need immigrants. Australia has laid out railways which would be more profitable if it had a larger population. Some of the railways that have been built have ceased to run because the settlers who were expected to use them have not arrived. The railway system of Australia has a greater length of railway per head of population than any other country in the world. (Australia has 4.77 miles of railway per 1000 of population; Canada is second with 4.76;<sup>1</sup> the United States is third with 2.48; next are New Zealand with 2.32 and the Argentine with 2.3 miles; then Sweden 1.62; in the United Kingdom the length is only .47 of a mile per 1000.) These railways would pay better, and the development of the interior would be an easier problem, if the population were two or three times as large. Even cautious experts estimate that Australia could accommodate a population of 45,000,000 people. An estimate which I prepared some years ago made the figure 100,000,000, and I was recently chided by an experienced man of affairs who, after a visit to Australia, told me that my estimate was ridiculously under the mark, as the continent could easily accommodate a population of 200,000,000.

It is, however, no use advising Australia to multiply its population even tenfold and increase its output of meat, wool, and wheat in proportion, unless there is an assured market for these materials. A tenfold increase in the quantity of wool might lead to such a fall in price that Australia would get less profit from the larger yield than she does from the present output. Australia is therefore naturally cautious in its immigration policy, so as not to jeopardize its industries by over-production.

Professor Ellsworth Huntington<sup>2</sup> has recently stated that "Australia has evolved a social and political system which

is pre-eminent as one of the important recent contributions to human progress." It would be deplorable if this social development were ruined by the arrival of immigrants faster than they can be absorbed.

The Immigration Policy of Australia has been well planned on constructive lines, and is based on four principles. The first is the exclusion of coloured labour, which was allowed indefinitely into the country till 1887, when the inflow of Chinese threatened to orientalize the whole labour conditions. An act for the exclusion of Chinese immigrants was sanctioned after the most serious friction with the British Government in Australian history. The Chinese were still allowed to enter the Northern Territory ; and Kanakas from the South Sea Islands were introduced to work the Queensland sugar plantations until their disturbance of the Queensland labour market led to their exclusion by the White Australia Act of 1901. Their repatriation left the Queensland sugar industry dependent on white labour and, despite the predictions that the change meant the extinction of the industry, it has continued to develop and has been more successful with white labour than it had been with coloured labour.

The second principle is the exclusion of undesirable individuals by a dictation test. This test is very seldom used ; it is, in fact, only applied to persons who are known to be undesirable and whom it has been resolved to exclude. The number rejected by all the tests and disqualifications has varied in recent years from 18 to 50, or 1 in 2650 of the immigrants—a much smaller percentage than were excluded under the various disqualification clauses of the American Acts. In the same years from 1200 to 1900 Chinese a year, from 200 to 400 Japanese, and various Syrians, people from Timor and New Guinea, India and Ceylon, were allowed to enter the country without the dictation test, either as they were returning to Australia or were admitted in such categories as tourists or students.

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The third principle is the exclusion of classes who cannot or will not undergo assimilation. The Government has the power, under the Amending Immigration Act of 1925, by simple proclamation to exclude persons "deemed unlikely to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Australian citizenship within a reasonable time after entry." This clause could be applied to any nationality of which the people remained alien in spirit; and they could be kept out without the invidious national discrimination of the American quota system.

The main feature of the Australian system is its active help in the selection and introduction of desirable immigrants for classes for whom there is ready employment in Australia. Labourers are obtained for industries in which there is a deficiency by active recruiting and advertising; and domestic servants are engaged in Europe and sent out with their fares either wholly or partly paid by the Australian authorities. Agricultural workers may be given free land with advances in cash to help them in breaking it into cultivation. Private agencies help, such as the Big Brother Movement, by which boy immigrants are adopted by an Australian family and treated as younger brothers. Some of those who go to Australia naturally fail, and they have often severely criticized both the conditions and the reception of immigrants into Australia.

Financial aid is at present given by the Australian Government to two classes of settlers; one class is selected by the Commonwealth Agents either for work on the land or as domestic servants. The second class consists of those nominated by residents in Australia, who are expected to look after them on arrival and are to some extent responsible that they do not fall upon the rates. Both the selected and nominated settlers receive, from a fund maintained by the British and Australian Governments, such contributions to their passage that children are carried free, young people up to seventeen can go to Australia for a payment of £5½,



and adults, according to their age and circumstances, up to £16½. The overseas settler may receive a loan for the amount he has paid.

To enable land in Australia to be made available for settlers a fund has been raised under the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. The act does not deal with details, but authorizes the raising of a fund up to £34,000,000, which may be lent at low rates of interest to the Australian States. This money is available for the preparation of new land for settlers or for the further development and improvement of already settled areas. This fund will, it is expected, introduce to Australia 45,000 settlers a year for ten years. This addition of 450,000 settlers would encourage additional individual immigration to conduct the various subsidiary industries connected with this great scheme of settlement.

There has been considerable discussion as to the Australian attitude to Overseas Settlement. Some British writers complain that Australia is too fastidious and rejects far too many of those who are anxious to settle in Australia. The complaint is that Australia will only receive the very pick of the British workers and is unwilling to receive a fair share of the unemployed who are now crowded into the British towns. The criticism, on the other hand, in Australia is that far too many settlers are sent there who are unfit for the work, and fail completely. The considerable proportion of failures strengthens the criticism that Australia expects too high a standard of work from its settlers, and that the conditions of life are too strenuous.

The Australian point of view has been put by the Hon. H. B. Colebatch,<sup>3</sup> the Agent-General for Western Australia. He quotes the Australian complaint that the people sent out are of far less than "fair average quality."

The fixed standard applies only to the assisted settlers. Most or perhaps the whole of their passage money is paid for, either as a grant or as a loan free of interest, by the Australian Government, which also provides them with

land, houses, capital for the equipment of their holdings, and with work for which they are paid £3 a week until the land is clear and is producing crops. It is only reasonable that people for whom the Australian States are incurring such financial liability should be carefully selected, so that they may all have a fair chance of success. The British Government contributes to the scheme half the interest for five years, and one-third of the interest for another five years, or £130,000 for each £750,000 lent by the Commonwealth to the Australian States. If the scheme is carried out to its full extent the British taxpayer would contribute a little over £600,000 per annum, much of which would no doubt be saved by the reduction in unemployment relief; and it amounts to a small proportion of the £34,000,000 to be expended under the Empire Settlement Scheme.

That scheme is, moreover, sending out the unemployed from the towns. According to Colebatch not 5 per cent of those accepted could make any contribution whatever towards their passage money; and he declares that not one of the applicants rejected was a fair average standard of British worker. Most of them came from the towns.

Western Australia has especially developed the system of Group Settlement which was planned to provide those who might come from the towns with the necessary training in farm work, to give them in the early years more help than would be possible if they were widely scattered, and to lessen the feeling of isolation among the new-comers. In some cases all the members of a group are from the same district in Britain; for example, one group came from Devon and Cornwall. It was hoped that the British Committees connected with the selection and emigration of these settlers would keep in touch with them.

The aim of the Group Settlement Scheme of 1922 was to introduce 75,000 British immigrants and to settle 6000 of the most suitable families, in addition to others from other parts of Australia, in groups of about twenty families

in the south-western part of Western Australia. Each settler is to be given a fenced holding of 160 acres, with a cottage and water supply, and is to be paid 10s. a day as wages by the State for two or two and a half years, while he, under the training of a competent foreman and the supervision of Government officers, clears from 20 to 25 acres of this land, and brings 5 acres under cultivation. The settlers on arrival were to be found suitable agricultural work as preliminary training before being sent to a settlement.

This admirable plan was intended to provide the settlers with a home and maintenance while learning sound agricultural methods from a skilled foreman and under the guidance of the Land Department officers during the preparation of their own farm.

Life in a group settlement has been described by Lord and Lady Apsley in "The Amateur Settlers" (1926). Lord Apsley, who was "Private Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary for the Department of Overseas Trade," went to Australia to test the arrangements made for those who went out as assisted settlers. Disguised as a respectable emigrant he landed in Melbourne, was given a job by the immigration authorities, and served as a farm hand near Mirboo and in the Mallee. He and Lady Apsley lived for a short time in a group settlement on the Margaret River in the south-western corner of Western Australia.

Lord Apsley<sup>4</sup> bears testimony to the "extremely efficient way migration and settlement are handled in Victoria," and he declares<sup>5</sup> "without doubt that public opinion in Australia is strongly in favour of receiving as many migrants from this country as Australia can absorb," and that "the Australian welcome to the British settler is generous and sincere, that everyone who has the will to get on can get on." He attributes seven out of every ten failures to ill-health.

Of the settlers in Western Australia, in spite of the care in selection, more than one-third, according to Colebatch,



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had abandoned their holdings, although they were still receiving £3 per week for their maintenance from the Government. Many of those who have left their allotments will probably find other employment in Australia, and they may prefer employment for wages in road construction instead of working a farm of their own.

The proportion of failures stated by Colebatch is confirmed by the Report by W. Bankes Amery, the British Government Representative for Migration in Australia. According to his Report,<sup>6</sup> of the 1911 assisted settlers to whom blocks have been allocated, 621, or 32·5 per cent, have left or been dismissed. Of the 175 full-pay British settlers, 71, or 40·6 per cent, have left or been dismissed; and the same fate has befallen 210, or 43·6 per cent, of the settlers who migrated before the Empire Settlement Agreement. Of the 1105 Australians connected with the Group Settlement, 498, or 45 per cent, have left or been dismissed, so that the proportion of failure has been larger amongst them than among the Overseas immigrants, possibly because they were more easily able to secure alternative employment or go back to their friends. Mr. Bankes Amery reports that some of the men who have left have been accepted for readmission, and he expects that as the scheme progresses the percentage of failures will decrease.

The progress of the Group Settlements up to June, 1925, has been most precisely described in the "Report of the Royal Commission on Group Settlements of Western Australia" (Perth, 1925, S.175/25, pp. xxx, Evidence, pp. 196). It reported that by 24th April, 1925, of the 1880 British group settlers who had departed from Britain on and after 25th September, 1922, 523 had left, 18 had been dismissed, and 1329 were still on the settlements. Of 468 British who had departed from the British Isles before 25th September, 1922, 173 had left, 21 had been dismissed, and 274 were still on the settlements; of the 1043 Australians, 400 had left, 27 had been dismissed, and 616 were still on

the settlements. Of the total of 3391 settlers, 1106 had left and 66 had been dismissed, and 2219 were still on the settlements.

This Report throws much light on the difficulties of the scheme. It represents some of them as due to the settlers being mostly from the British towns and having an ingrained "wage habit," so that they prefer work for wages to a less regular income from a farm of their own, and also to the women disliking the hard work of dairying. But as the statistics in the Report show that 68 per cent of the British immigrants have stuck to the settlements against 59 per cent of the Australians, the majority of the British settlers do not seem to lack either perseverance or capacity.

The Report attributes most of the trouble as due to the scheme having been rushed through too hastily, with consequent errors in administration. The most serious difficulty was that some of the settlements have been placed, owing to haste, on poor and quite unsuitable land; the methods of clearing were unduly expensive; the projected preliminary training for those immigrants who were not agriculturists has "gone by the board"; some of the foremen appointed to manage the groups were not competent for the work; many of the settlers were unsuited to farm work; the expense was proving far higher than had been estimated, and would leave the settlers burdened by a heavy debt to the State for the advances made to them for the stocking and breaking in the part of the farm not cleared during the first two and a half years. The Royal Commission insists on the need for the selection only of first-class land, that the settlers should be paid for their work by piece-work and not by wages, and that the settlers from the towns should go through a preliminary course in a training camp while their holdings are being prepared. The general condition of the Group Settlement was described by the Hon. W. C. Angwin, then Minister of Lands, but now Agent-General for West Australia, in its State Legislative Assembly,

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27th October, 1926. This account shows that the scheme was making steady and substantial progress: 135 groups had been established, with six hospitals and 68 schools; the area being developed is 352,462 acres, with a population of 9580. The expenditure has been £3,619,593. Of the groups, 71 have been disbanded and the settlers established on their own holdings. Piece-work has been introduced instead of the payment of a fixed wage. Mr. Angwin complained of the lack of industrial enterprise on the part of some of the settlers; but he stated that a large number of men are doing well, and he believes in the settlement plan and in its ultimate success without great loss to the State.

The present systems of group and nominated settlement in Australia<sup>7</sup> promise well, and if the projected 45,000 per annum of assisted settlers are sent out the total annual immigration into Australia should reach at least from 60,000 to 80,000, and perhaps the 100,000 suggested by Sir Granville Ryrie, the High Commissioner for Australia, in a speech to the Overseas League on 25th November, 1927. The amount of emigration practicable should afford material relief from British over-population, and in less than fifteen years add a million to the Australian population.

The difficulty is that Australia naturally prefers people who have been brought up in agricultural work in Britain, but that population only amounts, according to the census of 1921, to about 1,400,000, and is too small to provide an adequate reservoir for the settlement of Australia. The bulk of the British surplus population is in the towns. It must be remembered that the British industries are providing employment, in spite of the increasing severity of foreign competition and the poverty of our former foreign customers, to a larger number of people than were employed before the War. The difficulty is due to the surplus population, which, under pre-War conditions, would have been removed by emigration. Any extensive settlement in Australia depends on some system of joint training between



Australia and Britain by which the younger unemployed in the towns, and especially those who have entered into blind-alley occupations, should be trained for land work in Australia. The city recruits during the War, according to the general experience, were as effective and as adaptable as those from the country. They were perhaps physically less fit, but more intelligent and adaptable, and with training there would appear to be no reason why they should not make efficient settlers and agricultural workers. Unless some such policy can be established Australia must either accept a high proportion of labour from Southern and Eastern Europe, or must remain with an unduly low population.

The Australian Labour Party is accused of opposing immigration in the vested interests of its supporters. The present Labour policy was stated by Mr. J. S. Garden, Secretary of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, 12th August, 1927, on behalf of a deputation to Mr. J. G. Latham, the Attorney-General (reported in "The Times," 13th August, 1927). He declared that mass migration must stop, and explained that Labour did not object to individuals entering of their own volition, but that it objected to subsidized immigration of Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, Italians, etc. He also complained that employers in Queensland paid less than legal rates to their Italian workers.

This policy amounts to objection to the unrestricted immigration of the southern and eastern Europeans, and under the powers held by the Australian Government under the Immigration Restriction Acts it has already imposed quotas on Greeks and Jugo-Slavs of 100 per month.<sup>8</sup> An agreement with the Maltese Government also limits the number of passports granted at Malta<sup>9</sup> for emigrants to Australia; but the rigid quota of 260 Maltese p.a. established in 1916 was abandoned in 1924.<sup>10</sup>

The extent to which Australia can absorb immigrants depends on many factors, some of which are variable and

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cannot be estimated, including the state of the European markets and the weather in Australia. As the United States has absorbed sometimes  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million immigrants in the year, or over 1 per cent of the population, Australia, on the same basis, should be able to absorb about 60,000 per annum. The United States is now mainly an industrial country, and industries can quickly take in a larger number of new employees than agriculture, of which the expansion is necessarily slower. The relative proportion of the population of Australia engaged in the development of pastoral or agricultural industries is not easily determined, as so many of the residents in the Australian towns are connected with agriculture and with the pastoral stations. However, the occupations of the men who died in each year have been recorded for some years; and in the year 1921 the number of deaths in the pastoral and agricultural industries was 4237, and of those engaged in industries, commerce, and mining was 12,800. In 1923 the figures were respectively 4543 and 13,782.<sup>11</sup> If those figures are a reliable clue to the extent of commercial, mining, and industrial activity in Australia, those branches have already outgrown the agricultural and pastoral industries as a source of employment by three to one. Australia might therefore be expected to absorb at least 50,000 or 60,000 immigrants a year without serious effort, and at least 100,000 by a well-organized active immigration scheme.

The net immigration to Australia has reached in recent years nearly 50,000, but this figure understates the real emigration. With the increased comfort and speed of the voyage to Europe there is a tendency of Australian pastoralists, who would formerly have settled, on their retirement from the active management of their estates, in Sydney and Melbourne, to spend their last years in England. They probably keep their money invested in Australia, are still connected with their stations, and are useful to Australia as advocates and unofficial representatives

in this country ; but, according to the crude figures, each retired Australian who returns to Europe is counted as equivalent to a young emigrant going to spend his life in the country. It makes little difference to the productive capacity of Australia whether a retired pastoralist settles in Melbourne or London ; and the number of those who leave Australia in normal years leads to an under-estimation of the effective immigration.

The policy of caution in regard to immigration in Australia is supported there alike by Capital, Labour, and the economists. The capitalists are doubtful about the markets for their produce, if the production were magnified manifold. Labour is nervous lest a too rapid immigration, especially from southern Europe, should lower wages and the standard of living. Some of the economists put forward statistics which indicate an unduly low absorptive capacity. Thus W. H. Wickens,<sup>12</sup> in a recent paper, quotes the opinion of many that Australian immigration should attain 100,000 immigrants net a year. He dismisses these estimates as extravagant, and represents an average during the next ten years of 45,000 as too heavy a task and apparently expects that the number will not exceed 34,500, the average of the years 1921-5. Even more pessimistic are the estimates of some European and American authors who retain the obsolete conception of Australia as a frame without a picture. Some, such as Professor East, regard the frame as only fragmentary. He says of the Australians :<sup>13</sup> " These worthy people are living on the rim of a soup plate. The rim is fertile—at least, in spots ; the bowl is a barren desert without water-supply. There is no hope of any very considerable irrigation projects. Out of their 1904 million acres there are only about 40 million acres of arable land by the most optimistic estimate. Thus Australia, when treated as a place to live, shrinks to the size of Spain or possibly Italy. It is highly probable that in less than thirty years she will cease to be a food-exporting nation." . . .



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“Therefore,” he states, “Australia must be marked off the list as a source of any but temporary support for indigent peoples.” He remarks that at the present rate of increase Australia might have a population of 40 million in another century; but he considers that it cannot stand this rate of increase.

He quotes the forecast of the former Premier, Hughes, that Australia could maintain a population of 100,000,000. But Professor East declares there is no “reasonable basis for such a statement,” and “there is no foundation for such a boast.”<sup>14</sup> The estimates of Wickens and East, though concordant with those of Professor Griffith Taylor of Sydney, are not generally accepted in Australia. Such estimates are not accepted officially, as the scheme under the Empire Settlement Act is planned to introduce 45,000 assisted immigrants a year, in addition to which there should be a large number of nominated and independent immigrants. If the immigration under the Empire Settlement Act were a success, others would engage in the subsidiary industries that would be then necessary.

The estimate that Australia can only support a population of some 45,000,000 appears to overlook some recent developments and inventions which facilitate closer settlement, and also the amelioration of Australian conditions by wireless and the aeroplane. The introduction of motor-cars about twenty years ago revolutionized the conditions on the Western Plains of Victoria. Previously the residents on the large sheep stations were isolated, as while dependent on horse transport they were practically limited to a twenty-mile radius; but the advent of the motor-car swept away this isolation. An even greater revolution in the interior of Australia may be expected from aerial navigation and wireless. The boundary riders formerly lived for months together in absolute solitude, with no knowledge of passing events, or chance of communication with the outside world; and “in the silence of the leader’s hut alone” many of

them were smitten by "hut madness"; but now the wireless places them in daily communication with the outer world, and in case of accident or illness, instead of the man being left to die untended, he can signal to his head station and an ambulance-aeroplane from the nearest hospital calls for him within a few hours. The weekly aerial mail also greatly facilitates business and encourages settlement in the less accessible back-blocks of the interior of Australia.

The Australian decision for a White Australia twenty-six years ago was at the time strongly opposed by the bulk of British opinion. Lord Northcliffe strenuously objected to the policy, and many of his school are opposed to it still, but there has been a steady movement of British opinion in recent years towards sympathy with the White Australia policy. The ideal, however, not only of a White Australia, but of one wholly British, may be more difficult of realization. The British Isles since 1800 has doubled its population roughly every forty years in the first part of the period, and in sixty years in the later part. The United States in the same period has doubled its population at first in thirty years, and subsequently in forty years; its quicker increase, despite the authorities who hold (cf. pp. 19-20) that immigration does not permanently increase the population, would appear to be due to immigration. Australia has a population of approximately 6,000,000; and its increase to 25,000,000 by natural development without immigration would probably take two centuries: 97 per cent of the present Australian stock is of British origin. According to the census of 1921, over 99 per cent of the Australian people are British subjects. The foreign element is very small, residents in Australia in 1921 including the following:—

Chinese . . .	13,799	Japanese . . .	2,639
Italian . . .	4,903	Russian . . .	2,317
German . . .	3,555	French . . .	2,088
United States .	3,257	Dutch . . .	1,617
Greek . . .	2,817		

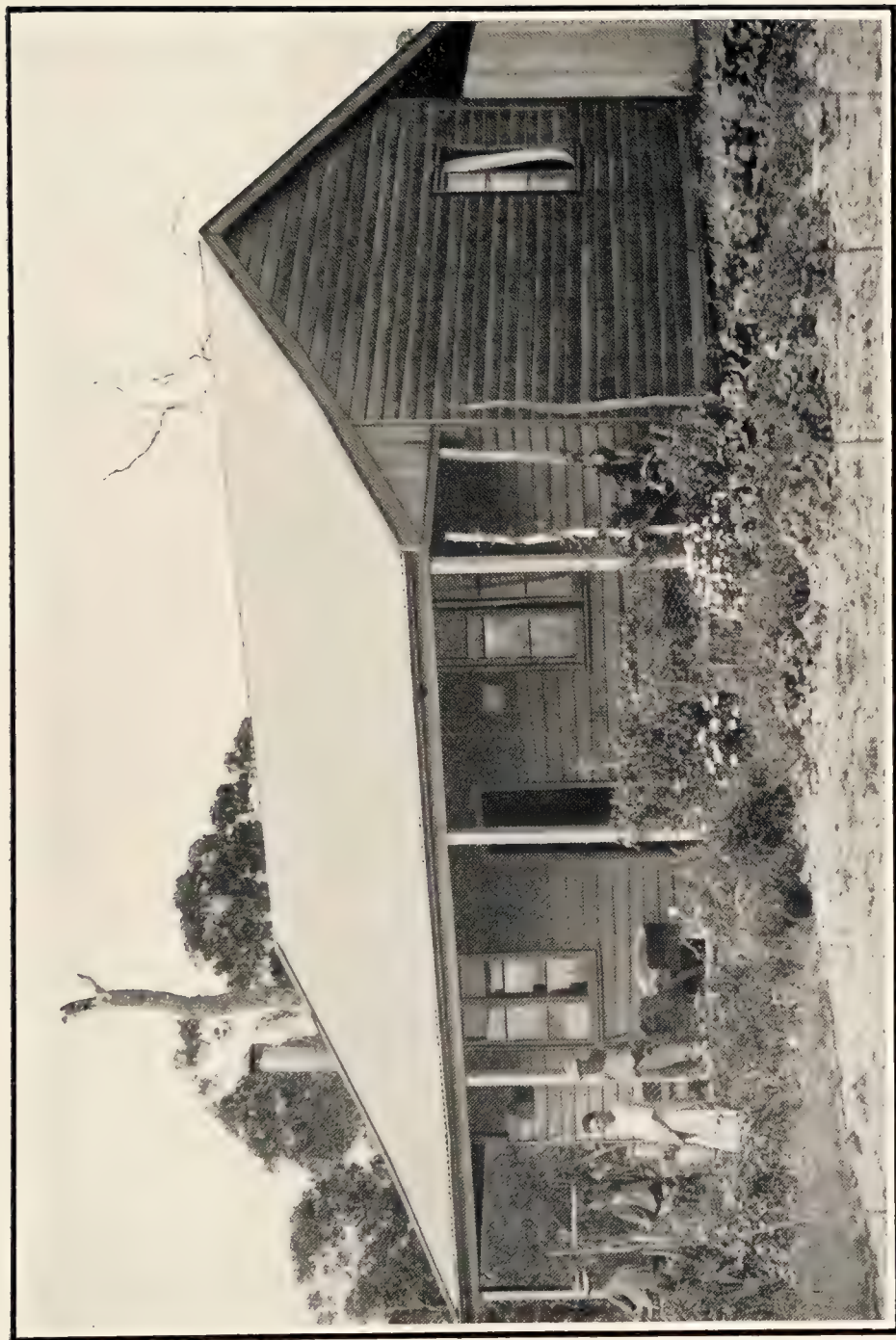
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If therefore the country be left to natural increase the nation would be essentially British.

If Australia receive an annual inflow of 150,000 immigrants, it should reach the population of 25,000,000 in about forty years ; but it is doubtful whether the British Isles could spare so many immigrants for Australia, considering the numbers who would prefer to settle in Canada, the United States, and South Africa, as well as those who spend their working lives in the administration and business of India, China, and South America. To reach 25,000,000 in forty years it would be necessary to collect some immigrants from other European countries, and the people of southern and eastern Europe cannot be excluded on the grounds of race or colour. Provided these immigrants be reasonably dispersed and not in too large a number, there is no reason why a considerable number of Italians and Slavs could not be absorbed in Australia without detriment to the stock Australia is protected by its distance and isolation from any inrush from Europe that would jeopardize the predominantly British element. The Australian ambition to remain of the British race is one that is naturally regarded with sympathy in the British Isles ; but it should be remembered that the true-born Englishman is himself of very mixed ancestry, and a small proportion of other members of the European Race would make no fundamental difference. The English are not a pure-bred nation like the Swedes ; and there is some truth in Defoe's caricature of the " True-born Englishman " (1765).

" The Romans first with Julius Cæsar came,  
Including all the Nations of that Name,  
Gauls, Greeks, and Lombards ; and by Computation ;  
Auxiliaries, or Slaves of ev'ry Nation.  
With Hengist, Saxons ; Danes with Sueno came,  
In search of Plunder, not in search of Fame.  
Scots, Picts, and Irish from th' Hibernian Shore ;  
And Conquering William brought the Normans o'er.





*By permission of the*

*Australian Government*

#### A HOME IN A GROUP SETTLEMENT NEAR BUSSELTON IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The house has four rooms, a wide verandah back and front, two stoves. The houses are provided by the Government and mostly cost £220 each. They are built of jarrah, a durable timber, and brick chimneys; the roof of corrugated iron collects rain water into a large tank.



All these their Barb'rous Off-spring left behind,  
The Dregs of Armies, they of all Mankind ;  
Blended with Britons who before were here,  
Of whom the Welch ha' blest the Character.

From this Amphibious Ill-born Mob began  
That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman."

"These are the Heroes who despise the Scotch  
And rail at new come Foreigners so much ;  
Forgetting that themselves are all deriv'd  
From the most Scoundrel Race that ever liv'd,  
A horrid Crowd of Rambling Thieves and Drones,  
Who ransack's Kingdoms, and dispeopled Towns,  
The Pict and Painted Briton, Treach'rous Scot,  
By Hunger, Theft, and Rapine, hither brought,  
Norwegian Pirates, Buccaneering Danes,  
Whose Red-hair'd Off-spring every where remains.  
Who join'd with Norman-French compound the Breed,  
From whence your True Born Englishmen proceed."

The preponderant British majority renders improbable any serious dilution of the Australians by southern European immigrants. Italians would be especially suitable for the tropical areas, and there seems no danger to Australian nationality from a certain proportion of Italian blood. Australia seems quite prepared to accept Scandinavians ; but the number of them available is small ; and the nation that produced such a galaxy of men as Dante, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, and Columbus, such artists as Michael Angelo, Titian, and Raphael, and has impressed the nomenclature of electricity and wireless telegraphy with the names of Galvani, Volta, and Marconi, need not fear comparison with Scandinavia. If Australia provides the young Italians with good schools and conditions favourable to their assimilation, there need be little fear of racial deterioration by an admixture of the nation to whom the world owes the Renaissance.

A denser population is, moreover, advantageous com-



mercially, or may be necessary for the defence of a State with more land than people. The frequently expressed warnings to Australia of early danger from invasion from Japan are probably fanciful. Japan should find ample outlet for its overcrowded population in eastern Asia, and any attempt by it to interfere by force in Australia would be a fatal misadventure. Japanese settlement in the Eastern Archipelago is, however, more probable. The Japanese were not at first attracted to the South Sea Islands; but attention has been directed to them and South America in consequence of the closing of Australia, the United States, and Canada. Experimental emigration to Borneo was made in 1921, and is claimed as so successful that the Japanese Government has decided to encourage emigration to the Eastern Archipelago.<sup>15</sup> The successful colonization of these islands by Japan would introduce serious competition in the development of tropical agriculture in northern Australia.

The Argentine shares with Australia the great advantage of a summer coincident with the winter in Europe and North America. The Argentine has the better position for the production of perishable food as it is comparatively near the great markets of Europe and the United States; and the rapid development of the Argentine with the lowering of the cost of production which would follow an increasing density of population would render it a dangerous commercial rival to Australia. The commercial competition of the Argentine with a population of fifty per square mile would be a far greater danger to Australia, with a population of three per square mile, than the naval and military menace from Japan.

<sup>1</sup> "Canadian Year Book," 1926, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> E. Huntington, "Pulse of Progress," 1926, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> H. B. Colebatch, "Australia and Migration. Is Australia Demanding too High a Standard?" "United Empire," Vol. XVI, N.S., 1925, pp. 653-7.

<sup>4</sup> Apsley, "Amateur Settlers," 1926, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

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<sup>6</sup> "Report on the Group Settlements in Western Australia," Cmd. 2673, 1926, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> See also the Report of the British Oversea Settlement Delegation to Australia, appointed to enquire into conditions affecting British Settlers in Australia. Cmd. 2132.

<sup>8</sup> "Industr. and Lab. Inform.," XIII, 1925, p. 68.

<sup>9</sup> Emigration is especially necessary from Malta owing to the increasing density of its population, which is already 1832 per square mile.

<sup>10</sup> "Industr. and Lab. Inform.," IX, 1924, p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> "Australian Year Book," 1924, No. 17, pp. 995-6.

<sup>12</sup> World Population Congress, 1927.

<sup>13</sup> E. M. East, "Mankind at the Cross-roads," 1923, p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> "Mon. Rec. Migr.," II, 1927, p. 70.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Migration. The Need for International Study

"It chanced we from the city were,  
And had not gat us free  
In spirit from the store and stir  
Of its immensity :

"But here we found ourselves again,  
Where humble harvests bring  
After much toil but little grain,  
'Tis merry winnowing."

ROBERT BRIDGES, "The Winnowers."

**M**IGRATION is an international problem, and it has recently entered on a new phase attended with special international difficulties. The quota system of the United States has been bitterly resented by some countries ; for they regard the selection of the year 1890 for its basis, and the adoption of a device for the permanent quota which excludes all but a dribble from the countries of southern and eastern Europe, as a deliberate and unjust discrimination against them. They consider the system was drafted with a cold hardening of heart against their clamant needs. The demand, moreover, in all the immigration countries for the complete assimilation of the immigrants conflicts with the increased desire of the emigrant countries to retain the nationality of their citizens. This desire is partly due to the greater vigour of national sentiment in Europe and partly to fear of the reduction of military strength. The effort to retain some hold on their emigrants must be expected to be especially



strong in countries which have no colonies, or in those of which, like Italy, the colonies afford only a very limited outlet.

### THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDY

The sharp conflict of interests between the immigration and the emigration countries greatly restricted the usefulness of the International Migration Conference at Geneva in 1921. Australia and the Argentine declined to join in the Conference. The United States sent a representative who remained in Geneva watching the proceedings, but taking no part in them. The representative of Poland, which was then in conflict with Germany on some migration questions, though in attendance, did not once attend. The representative of South Africa resigned at the fourth sitting on the ground that the Conference was considering the problems too exclusively in the interest of the emigration countries. Hence, with the exception of Canada and Brazil, the overseas immigration countries were not represented and were not pledged to the decisions of the Conference.

The difficulty with migration problems is due in part to the ignorance of facts, without knowledge of which a satisfactory solution may be impossible. The danger of the present drift has been recently proclaimed by Mons. Albert Thomas in opening the discussion on International Migration at the World Population Congress at Geneva on the 2nd September, 1927. He declared that "an attempt should be made to tackle the migration problem, and this attempt should be made internationally. The question is one of peace or war. If no action is taken, fresh wars, perhaps even more terrible than those which the world has recently experienced, will break out at no distant date." The International Emigration Conference of 1921 recommended the establishment of a permanent conciliation organization in reference to migration. The 1927 Congress

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has decided to establish a new international Institute—a Population Union—for the study of population problems, and one branch of it may deal with migration.

For the success of the new Institute the support and co-operation of the great immigration countries are indispensable. Mons. Albert Thomas represented as the ideal the establishment of “some sort of supreme super-national authority which would regulate the distribution of population on rational and impartial lines, by controlling and directing migration movements and deciding on the opening up or closing of countries to particular streams of immigration.” Mons. Thomas, however, recognizes that this ideal is impracticable at present. If the establishment of such an authority be accepted as a step towards a remote ideal, it may be helpful. If, however, it be suspected that the organization would attempt to secure the early realization of this ideal, the great immigration countries would doubtless decline to co-operate, and the success of the Institute would be impossible, or its usefulness would at least be greatly curtailed. If the constitution of the Institute confine its work to the scientific study of migration problems, leaving the application of the results to other bodies, such as the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations, it may receive world-wide support.

This co-operation appears the more possible since Mons. Thomas accepted some principles which, if adopted by the new Union, would go far to allay the suspicions of the immigration countries. He recognized, for example, that “individuals should be entitled to leave their home country and settle abroad only under certain conditions, the idea of absolute freedom to proceed from place to place being no longer valid under modern conditions, and therefore quite impracticable.” Nevertheless, Mons. Thomas’ paper and his eloquent address to the Conference contained remarks that imply that either the new Institute or some organization that could be early established should acquire rights

of international supervision over migration and of authority over unoccupied lands. He stated, for example, that the *primary* task of the new international Institute would be the study of migration problems, implying that it would have other tasks, and they might be executive. The clause previously quoted states that the right of selection by an immigrant country should be subject to some supervision, which would have to be some super-national control. He added that an international authority "should be entitled to lay down the conditions under which territory lying within the sovereignty of a given State and obviously unoccupied might be thrown open to certain classes of emigrants." It is true that this suggestion is qualified by the remark that this international authority could only intervene if the nation whose territory was concerned had agreed to this action. It is very doubtful whether the countries that have large areas of sparsely occupied land, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, Russia, or the South American Republics, would support any organization which was likely to raise the issue of international interference in the development of their unoccupied land.

The idea in the minds of those who suggest the international control of the unoccupied land in Australia is probably not that some organization should send colonists to the unleased areas in Central Australia, but that it should take over the well-watered and fertile parts of the Northern Territory.

If, however, some international organization undertook the control of settlement in that Territory, the financial obligations should fall upon the organization. If it planted a few colonists there under existing economic conditions, they would doubtless fail as completely as their predecessors failed. Any extensive settlement to be successful would require an enormous capital expenditure, and no international body would have any right to expect either to be allowed to undertake the work or would have any chance



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of success unless it could devote to the work a capital in the order of £100,000,000. It is doubtful whether any international organization could secure adequate resources. It ought to have enough money to establish railway communication with Adelaide, Queensland, and with Western Australia. In order to secure an outlet for produce it should provide lines of steamers to China, India, and other parts of Australia, and should guarantee their weekly call at the ports of the Northern Territory for twenty years. It should provide—for which the cost would be relatively insignificant—agricultural and veterinary research institutes to guide the settlers and protect them against the diseases of crops and herds. With such help in production and guaranteed facilities for export there seems nothing to hinder the occupation of the Northern Territory by a considerable European population; but the enterprise could not be expected to pay the interest on the capital until too late a date to be a commercial proposition. Unless the proposed international organization is ready to undertake expenditure on a scale greater than Australia can be expected to incur in the near future, there is no reason why the settlement of the Northern Territory should be transferred to a body which would probably be even less successful with it than Australia has been.

That Australia should be ready to receive a much larger proportion of Japanese and south Europeans has been strenuously urged by the emigration authorities in their countries.

The Australian population is growing—far more slowly than that, for example, of Japan. The Australian annual increase in the present century has varied from 66,000 to 124,000 and has been generally below 100,000; this amount is small compared with the annual 760,000 increase of Japan, though the Australian rate of increase per cent of the population is twice as great as that of Japan. Part of the Japanese increase has been recently due to immigration. In

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the three years 1922-4 Japan sent out 28,166 emigrants and received 37,775 immigrants, and increased 9209 by immigration.<sup>1</sup>

Japanese and Italians have claimed that the emptiness of Australia entitles people from any overcrowded land to unrestricted entry. Objection is taken to the imposition by Australia of a national quota, which has already been applied to Jugo-Slavs, Albanians, and Greeks. It should be remembered that if the Italian territories of Tripoli and Cyrenaica are as fertile as Italian supporters of their annexation have maintained, those countries lying along the shore of the Mediterranean with easy access to the markets of southern Europe, with a population of 1.32 per square mile over an area of 975,340 square miles, should afford a more favourable outlet for millions of Italians than Australia.

The sympathetic international study of migration problems might, however, lead to results of the highest importance, both in providing cures for unemployment and in reducing international friction on migration questions, provided the organization devoted to this study exercise self-restraint in curbing too ambitious ideals. It might provide the basis for a less arbitrary and artificial selection of immigrants than the American Quota System.

The subjects upon which further research and information would be especially useful as the basis for migration policies are ethnological and geographical rather than political. The first is the classification of the races and sub-races of mankind, and the reference to them of the various nationalities. The second is the relative effects of heredity and environment on the races and sub-races. The third deals with the qualities, racial and national, that determine the assimilability, under reasonable conditions of emigration and settlement, of the different subdivisions of mankind. The fourth, the effect of intermarriage between the different primary divisions of mankind, the races, and

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between the secondary subdivisions, the sub-races and nationalities. The view appears to be now generally accepted that, as with the interbreeding of domestic animals, the progeny from breeds that are very different are inferior and delicate, whereas the interbreeding of closely allied types produces a more vigorous and improved progeny. The application of this rule to mankind renders it desirable that intermarriage between the primary races should be avoided ; whereas that between allied nationalities is often beneficial. The position of the dividing-line between the good and bad intermixtures amongst the more distinct nationalities and sub-races is uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

Fifth, the improvement of methods of selection so that individuals may be judged by their intelligence, and not by such an inadequate test as the power to read, or the Australian dictation test, which was obviously intended to empower the Government to exclude any individual or groups of individuals. It enables the immigration authorities to reject anyone who cannot interpret a sentence that may be dictated to him in any European language selected by the immigration official, who may choose Basque or Magyar, Lapp or Bulgarian. Hence this test renders legal the exclusion of any immigrant who may be deemed undesirable.

The geographical problems that would fall within the scope of migration studies include the following : (1) What amount of population each country or section of a country might be expected to support, and therefore their capacity for immigration ; (2) what is the optimum population, and whether a country requires for its attainment immigration or emigration, and to what extent ; (3) how far the separate countries make full use of their own resources and area, and whether a country which suffers from local overcrowding could secure relief by the development of other parts of its own territory. (4) Another branch of investigation would



be the needs of emigration from countries at present clearly overcrowded. There are certain areas in Europe, such as France, which need only immigration. In others, such as Russia, the people who are forced by overcrowding from one province might find a home in other parts of European Russia, while there is unquestionably ample room for them in Siberia. The people of some European States have therefore no claim to entry into other countries until adequate use is made of their homeland.

The same principle applies to China in regard to the Pacific lands. Parts of China have the densest population of any agricultural areas in the world, amounting to 6000 to the square mile. These regions are certainly overpopulated; but large tracts of China are now unoccupied or are only sparsely occupied, although they could carry a large population if they had better means of internal communication, such as roads and railways. China is the thirteenth of the great countries of the world in order of density of population, and it has plenty of excellent land which should be made available for overflow from the areas that are so overcrowded.

<sup>1</sup> "I.L.O. Migration Movements," 1920-4, 1926, pp. 51, 60.

<sup>2</sup> It should also be remembered that in many cases hybrids are inferior to their parents even with varieties that are closely akin. President Eliot, of Harvard, considers that intermarriage of people of different European nations produces children weaker and less able than those whose parents belong to the same nation.

## CHAPTER XV

# The Emigration Necessary from Europe

“The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them.”

ISAIAH 35.

“Too pas the seas som thinkes a toille,  
Sum thinkes it strange abrod to rome,  
Sum thinkes it grief to leave their soyle,  
Their parents, eynfolk and their whome,  
Thinke see who list, I like it nott,  
I must abrod to trie my lott.”

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.

THE problems mentioned in the previous chapter are admittedly of extreme complexity; and the factors are so uncertain that it might seem wiser not to suggest even approximate figures of the desirable emigration until the Population Institute has collected the data and secured their impartial discussion and interpretation. Nevertheless, general figures, although uncertain, help to indicate the extent and nature of the problem.

The first information necessary is the amount of emigration from Europe required to relieve its overpressure. That Europe, if not absolutely overcrowded, carries an undue share of mankind is shown by the density of population as indicated by the number of inhabitants per square mile. The average density of the habitable world—i.e. the land areas exclusive of the Antarctic Continent, the Arctic Archipelago, and Greenland—is about 36 per square mile. Europe, as a whole, has a density of 122 per square mile; Asia, 61; North and Central America, 18; Africa, 11; South America,  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ; Australia, 2. The more crowded European countries have population densities of 664 per

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square mile in Belgium, 554 in Holland, 396.5 in Great Britain, 352 in Italy, 343 in Germany.

A population density of 50 per square mile is exceeded in all European countries except Albania, 48; Lithuania, 37; Sweden, 35; Finland, 26; Norway, 21; Andorra, 2.7; Iceland, 2½. Fifty per square mile is reached on the mainland of America only by the small State of San Salvador, after which the three highest figures are Guatemala, with 47 persons per square mile; the United States, with 38; and Uruguay, with 22; Mexico has 18.5; Brazil, 9.3; the Argentine, 8; and Canada, 2.5.

The extent to which emigration has been used to remedy the crowded condition of the more packed European countries is shown by their emigration records. The extent to which the reduction of the population by emigration is modified by an inflow of immigrants must be allowed for, and the difference, or the net emigration, is shown in the following table.<sup>1</sup>

Chief European Emigration Countries.	Average annual Emigration in the years 1920-4.		Avg. annual overseas Immigration.	Net Overseas Migration.	
	Continental.	Overseas.		Net Emigration.	Net Im- migration.
Belgium . . .	21,668	2,525	1,273	1,252	—
Czecho-Slovakia	28,421	10,525	3,715	6,810	—
France . . .	—	2,080	(3) 13,188	—	11,108
Germany . . .	—	48,205	(3) 74,501	—	26,294
Great Britain and N. Ireland . .	—	214,067	69,433	144,634	—
Irish Free State .	—	(2) 16,236	2,789	13,447	—
Hungary . . .	—	3,869	(5) 997	2,872	—
Italy . . . . .	182,620	172,473	66,458	106,015	—
Netherlands . .	—	4,041	7,925	—	3,884
Norway . . . .	—	8,689	(3) 12,030	—	3,341
Poland . . . . .	33,708	55,577	41,656	13,921	—
Portugal . . . .	—	29,287	16,501	12,786	—
Roumania . . .	—	8,939	1,672	6,267	—
Serb-Croat- Slovene (Yugo- Slavia) . . . .	—	10,329	8,172	2,157	—
Spain . . . . .	—	91,476	47,441	44,035	—
Sweden . . . . .	2,796	11,384	3,683	7,701	—
Total, 16 countries	269,213	689,702	371,134	361,897	44,627

Net overseas emigration: 318,568.



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Countries.	1926. Overseas.		1926. Net Migration.	
	Emigrants.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Immigrants.
Belgium . . .	3,672	5,694	—	2,022
Czecho-Slovakia . .	12,063	2,818	9,245	—
Germany . . .	66,142	28,235	37,907	—
Great Britain and Nor- thern Ireland . .	166,601	51,063	115,538	—
Irish Free State . .	30,359	1,983	28,376	—
Hungary . . .	5,856	400	5,456	—
Italy . . .	119,055	64,104	54,951	—
Jugo-Slavia . . .	18,230	(1925) 5,691	12,539	—
Poland . . .	49,457	6,017	43,440	—
Portugal . . .	34,132	16,846	17,286	—
Spain . . .	45,299	39,949	5,350	—
Total, 11 countries .	550,866	—	330,088	2,022

## WITHOUT IMMIGRATION RECORDS

Sweden . . . . .	10,202
Norway . . . . .	9,326
Finland . . . . .	7,072
Denmark . . . . .	5,804
Austria . . . . .	3,895
Netherlands . . . .	3,059
Switzerland . . . .	4,947
	<hr/> 44,305 <hr/>
Total Overseas . . . .	595,171

## CONTINENTAL MIGRATION

Italy . . . . .	126,297	106,099	—
Poland . . . . .	117,136	49,171	—
France . . . . .	41,174	170,366	129,192
Czecho-Slovakia . .	8,524	—	—

In dealing with the emigration necessary from Europe only the Overseas Migration need be considered. Continental Migration is important to some countries, such as Italy and Belgium, and if it ceased their overseas migration would doubtless increase. The table on page 173 shows that,

in the sixteen countries enumerated during the years 1920-24, the net emigration was a little under 320,000, and allowing for the additional European countries and excluding emigration into Siberia, the total would doubtless have been under 350,000. Of this amount the emigration from the British Isles was 158,000, or nearly half. For 1926 the net emigration, as shown in the table on page 174, was 330,000 from the eleven countries of which the immigration numbers are also available; and with the addition of the seven countries, of which the emigration records only are stated, as in some of them the immigration in some years exceeded the emigration, the total net emigrants will still be less than 350,000.

The net migration figures, it should be realized, under-rate the effective emigration and immigration. Thus, in the chief immigration countries, the immigrants are largely young people who give to the country to which they go the best of their working life. The repatriated mostly leave after they have retired from active service, and they probably retain business interests in the country in which they have done their work. The loss of a retired elderly immigrant is not as great as the gain of a young emigrant. This fact is recognized by the Argentine, Brazil, and Venezuela, which do not count as immigrants any person over sixty years old. In the case of Australia, for example, it matters little to the development of the pastoral industry whether a retired owner or manager of an inland station retires to Sydney or Melbourne, or to Britain. If he goes to Europe, Australia loses some income-tax and personal expenditure, but this loss may be compensated by his help to the shipping to Australia by occasional voyages to and fro, and he acts in this country as an unofficial representative, and probably helps to direct capital to Australia, and thus contributes to its development.

The extent to which the immigrants to an immigration country are younger than the emigrants from it is shown

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by the following migration statistics of the United States :—

		Ages 16-44.	Ages over 45.
Immigrants . .	1921	587,966	70,650
	1922	210,164	35,682
	1925	213,980	29,612
Emigrants . .	1922	143,081	46,132
	1925	68,403	19,911

The immigrants of 16-44 exceeded those of 45 and over by 8 to 1 and 6 to 1 ; but among the emigrants that ratio was only 3 to 1.

In 1907, the year of the maximum immigration into the United States, the 1,285,349 immigrants included 1,100,771 between the ages of 14 to 45, and only 46,234 of 45 years and over.<sup>2</sup>

In the pre-War time those between the ages of 14 and 44 years exceeded those of 45 and over by more than 10 to 1 in every year from 1899, and they were in some years more than 20 times as many.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, many of those who may return to their native land younger than 45 have probably acquired adequate savings to render them independent, and they add to its wealth and capacity to support its population.

The net emigration, therefore, expresses less than the actual relief to a working population of the gross emigration. The position between the net and the gross, which represents the effective emigration, is uncertain, and has to be determined independently for each country.

The influence of emigration on the economic conditions of a country is affected by its proportion to the total population of the country. Judged by this standard in the years 1920-24, Portugal had the greatest emigration, the



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Irish Free State the second, and Great Britain and Northern Ireland third.<sup>4</sup>

Country.	Emigration per 100,000.	Immigration per 100,000.	Net Increase or decrease.
Portugal . . .	520	293	—227
Irish Free State . .	513	88	—425
Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . .	484	157	—327
Italy . . .	445	171	—274
Spain . . .	428	222	—206
Norway . . .	327	—	—
Poland . . .	204	123	—81
Finland . . .	200	—	—
Sweden . . .	192	62	—130
Denmark . . .	181	—	—
Switzerland . . .	152	—	—
Austria . . .	119	—	—
Czecho-Slovakia . .	96	27	—69
Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom . . .	86	68	—18
Germany . . .	80	—	—
Esthonia . . .	59	—	—
Netherlands . . .	58	115	+57
Roumania . . .	55	10	—45
Hungary . . .	48	12	—36
Belgium . . .	33	17	—16
France . . .	5	—	—
New Zealand . . .	1,192	213	+68
Argentina . . .	1,385	488	+897
Australia . . .	1,670	1,143	+527
United States . . .	373	141	+232
Brazil . . .	242	110	+132

As the conditions since the War have been abnormal, it is worth considering the average annual emigration to the United States in the decade 1901-10 of a few of the chief European emigrant countries.<sup>5</sup>

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	Average of Decade 1901-10.	Average of 1920-24
Austria-Hungary .	214,526	60,964+x
Germany . . .	34,149	48,205
Italy . . . . .	204,587	355,093
Sweden . . . . .	24,953	14,180
Norway . . . . .	19,050	8,689
Russia . . . . .	159,730	89,285+x
United Kingdom .	86,501	230,303
.....	.....	.....
Total for Europe .	813,601	806,719+x

The emigration needs of Europe are not easily expressed in figures, as the comparable statistics between different periods are not easily obtained ; and any one year may be abnormal. The figures available indicate that the needs have been met by a net emigration of some 350,000, of which half is required by the British Isles. A net emigration of half a million would suffice under existing conditions to meet the absolute needs of Europe, though it would not relieve the whole of the genuine unemployment.

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from Migration Movements, 1920-1. Internat. Labour Office, Studies and Reports. Geneva, 1926, pp. 35, 42-3, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. Abstract, U.S., No. 45, 1922, 1923, pp. 93, 94. For 1925, No. 48, pp. 90, 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Migration Movements, 1920-4, 1926. p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Stat. Abstract, U.S., 1922, pp. 90-91.

## CHAPTER XVI

# The Absorptive Capacity of the Immigrant Countries

“ When a country is loved before it is seen, the fusion begins even before the foot has trod the sacred soil. As the steerage passengers from oppressed and impoverished European lands draw nigh to New York, the psychical influences of the new environment radiate out to them, remoulding and enfranchising. Though Danger at the old home may re-nationalize some and draw back their sympathies and even their bodies, that is only with those whose emigration is economic. But emigration for Liberty, with patriotism as the child of free choice, seems at once worthier of human dignity and more reliable than that which is the accident of birth.”

ISRAEL ZANGWILL, “ The Principle of Nationalism,” 1917.

**T**HE capacity of different countries to absorb immigrants may be to some extent inferred from the numbers they formerly received. The United States before the War, with a white population of about 95,000,000, admitted 1,250,000 immigrants in a year, or about 1.3 per cent of its population. Australia with a population of 6,000,000 would absorb on the same percentage 80,000 a year.

The percentage of immigrants that a country may be expected to receive varies with the relation of its gross immigration to its net immigration, and the proportion of the industrial to the agricultural occupations.

The absorption of migrants by a country is largely determined by the extent of its industrial activity, for manufacturers can employ unskilled labour more quickly than farmers. Unskilled labour on a farm is of comparatively little use. The relative extent of the agricultural to other



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industries cannot be judged merely by the extent of the urban and rural population; for in some countries, especially in Australia with its large isolated farms and sheep stations, agricultural and pastoral industries are managed to a larger extent by residents in the cities than in Europe, where the landed proprietors and their managers often live on the estates.

The United States can probably absorb immigrants more rapidly than Australia or Canada, because of the larger number of industries that use unskilled labour. In the United States, according to the census of 1920, approximately 11,000,000 persons were engaged in agricultural, pastoral, and forest work, and 30,000,000 in other occupations. The agricultural, pastoral, and forestry work, therefore, occupied roughly 9 per cent of the total population, and a little over 1 in 3 of those engaged in the registered occupations. The proportion must be more than 1 in 3, as some of those engaged in professions, domestic service, and transport should be credited to agriculture.

In Australia the number of those engaged in the various industries is less definitely known; but it may be inferred from the occupations recorded in the registers of deaths. The males who died in 1921 numbered 4237 in the agricultural and pastoral industries, and 12,800 in manufacturing, commerce, and mining. The proportion, therefore, was roughly 1 to 3, or much the same as in the United States.

The urban population in the United States is 51·4 per cent, and in Australia, 43·8 per cent, and these rates are much higher in proportion to the rural population than is the case in Europe. The highest European rate is in Denmark, where the urban population is 20·25 per cent, owing, in part, as in some of the Australian States, to the relatively great size of the capital. In England the urban population 11·83 per cent, and in Belgium, 8·9 per cent.

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The emigration capacity, however, of a country depends upon the number of its industries which can absorb unskilled labour. It has been the rapid growth in modern times of the eastern industrial areas of the United States which has enabled it so long to allow immigration faster than countries whose occupations are predominantly agricultural. And this receptivity of immigrants is due to the industrial areas of the Eastern States. Thus, in the year 1925-26, the States which received the largest numbers of the 496,106 aliens, including both those classified as immigrants and non-immigrants, were :—

States.	Immigrants & non- Immigrants.	Population.	%
New York .	106,244	11,162,151 (1925)	1 in 105
Michigan .	38,178	4,395,151 (1926)	1 in 115
Texas .	37,254	5,220,000 (1926)	1 in 140
Massachusetts	33,645	4,144,205 (1925)	1 in 123
Illinois .	25,295	4,202,983 (1926)	1 in 166
California .	26,665	4,021,320 (1925)	1 in 150
Pennsylvania .	24,937	9,317,647 (1925)	1 in 373
New Jersey .	21,237	3,506,428 (1925)	1 in 165

The Western States which had the largest admission were California and Texas, both largely due to the rapid development of their oil-fields, combined with the overflow from Mexico, and in California also upon the growth of the residential cities.

The percentage of immigration recorded in the official returns for 1925-26 is .45 of the total population, but the percentage for those eight States is above that figure ; it is almost 1 per cent in New York, and is below the average only in Pennsylvania. The percentage immigration into three of the New England industrial States is much the same :—

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	1925-6. Immigrants.	Population (1920 Census.)	Population per sq. mile.	Ratio of Immigrants to Population.
Rhode Island .	3,311	604,397	566.4	1 in 182
Connecticut .	6,447	1,380,631	286.4	1 in 214
Massachusetts .	26,845	3,852,356	477.2	1 in 143

In the purely agricultural States, on the other hand, the immigration is very small :—

	Immi- grants.	Population 1925.	Population per sq. mile.	Ratio of Immigrants.
North Dakota .	816	686,424	9.5	1 in 829
South Dakota .	607	681,550	8.5	1 in 1,123
Wyoming .	233	206,381	2.1	1 in 886
Virginia .	414	2,449,443	57.5	1 in 5,916
Georgia .	229	3,058,260	49.4	1 in 13,254
Alabama .	262	2,467,190	45.9	1 in 9,417
Mississippi .	166	1,790,618 (1920)	38.6	1 in 10,787

The percentage of the immigrants was only about .1 per cent in the three northern agricultural States, and in the more densely peopled Southern States it is insignificant, being only .007 per cent of the population in Georgia.

The admission of over a million immigrants in the year into the United States has been stopped on the ground that they have not been assimilated, and that that number is excessive ; though it doubtless contributed to the industrial success of the Republic. The number of immigrants in the year 1926-27 is reported ("Times," 10th August, 1927, cable from New York) as :—

Gross legal immigration	538,001	(Including from Canada, 81,560 ; from Mexico, 67,721.)
Nett " "	284,493	
Emigrants .	253,508	
Illegal immigrants, number estimated as	175,000	
Total net immigration	459,493	



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If an allowance of a quarter of the emigrants from the United States be made for those past their working prime, the effective immigration for the last year would be 520,000.

The bulk of the illegal immigration must be European, as Asiatics and Africans are easily excluded, and Canadians, Mexicans, and other Americans have the right of entry, unless disqualified by physical inferiority or their political and social opinions. The annual European quota is to be about 150,000, and if the "smuggled" immigrants be added, the United States would probably receive about 300,000 Europeans. Of the quota of 153,541 more than half, or 86,901, are to be from the British Isles (73,039 from Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 13,862 from the Irish Free State). Hence if the conditions remain as at present the United States may accommodate the whole of the necessary emigration from the mainland of Europe (175,000) and half of that from the British Isles (87,500).

If the United States alters its law and reduces immigration from other parts of America, and at the same time, by the great increase in its frontier guards, prevents the entrance of any immigrants except those on the quota, the European numbers would be reduced to about 150,000 a year, and that number would be an inadequate share of the necessary European emigration of 350,000 or of the desirable limit of half a million.

A third possibility is that the United States may reduce its immigration even below the present legal limit, or may suppress it altogether.

The United States would never agree to any modification of its immigration or land settlement policies in the interests of other countries. But it may modify them in its own interests. It was declared by Elliot Lord:<sup>1</sup> "It is scarcely credible that anyone will seriously propose that Congress should establish a geographical line of exclusion across the centre of Europe, cutting off immigration from Spain, Italy, Austria, Southern Russia and Greece." Yet

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this action was not only proposed, but has been adopted by Congress. It would appear less incredible that the system, which was admittedly adopted hastily as an emergency measure, may be modified owing to the increasing criticism in the United States. The objections to it are based on several grounds. In addition to those considered on pages 115-17, it is insisted<sup>2</sup> that the American industries still need immigrant labour, and that some of the United States industries are almost entirely dependent upon it. The United States does not produce enough unskilled labour for its needs. The success of America in the education and social advancement of its citizens turns nearly all of them into skilled workers, and leaves a deficiency of the unskilled. The country may manage by machinery with a smaller proportion of lower grade labour; but the change would, no doubt, place great difficulties in the way of some important American industries.

The Negro difficulty in the States is also intensified by the restriction of European immigrants. Professor Van Dyke,<sup>3</sup> of Princeton University, describes the problem of the 9,000,000 Negroes as "perhaps the greatest and most perplexing problem that any nation has ever had to face. . . . How to secure them in their civil rights without admitting them to a racial mixture—that is the problem."

Before the War American students of the Negro problem were comforted by the decline in the Negro proportion, which encouraged the hope that the difficulty would gradually diminish, and also such fantastic ideas<sup>4</sup> as that the Negro would return to Africa and thus relieve the United States of this difficulty. The reduction in the Negro percentage, in spite of their high birth-rate, was due to the high infantile mortality and to the inflow of 1,000,000 or more European immigrants who, being mostly young, had a high birth-rate; but both of these conditions have now changed. Many organizations in the United States are helping the Negro by providing him with better school

buildings and a more practically useful education, and are teaching him better methods of agriculture, improved standards of life, and the benefits of cleanliness. All such influences and the increased wealth of the Negro are lowering his infantile mortality, and lengthening his life. The birth-rate will inevitably fall by the automatic effect of diminished infant mortality; but the decline in the Negro birth-rate will probably continue to be less than that among the whites, while the increase in longevity among the whites has in recent years been less than that of the Negro.<sup>5</sup>

The spread of the Negroes from the Southern States into the northern cities in order to replace the excluded European labour will naturally result in some interbreeding with the whites and increase in the mulatto proportion. The reduction, therefore, in white immigration accompanied by the improvement in Negro conditions of life will inevitably increase the Negro percentage in the United States population. The United States may ultimately feel that this process is less satisfactory than intermixture with members of the nation to whom the world is indebted for the Renaissance.

The adoption of the Quota System by the United States is probably irrevocable. The Quota, however, might be fixed on less clumsy and provocative lines, and have some consideration for the special circumstances of the different emigrant countries; they need not always be maintained in accordance with an inflexible formula adopted when public opinion was disturbed by the War, and was alarmed by the threatened enormous increase of immigration due to the unhappy economic conditions of Europe. The Quota System is no doubt strongly entrenched, as it is supported by the combined interests of organized labour, capital, economists, eugenists, and patriotic extremists; but these interests might be satisfied that their ends could be reached by a better and less invidious system.

Any flexible system, like the Australian, may be precluded



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in the United States by the objection to entrusting indefinite powers to individuals or boards. In a great complex country it is no doubt difficult to make experiments, for it may be impossible to recognize their effects, and difficult to reverse if the policy is considered a failure. This difference between some of the younger and smaller countries and the older countries was expressed at a British Imperial Conference when Mr. Winston Churchill declared that Great Britain could not try experiments with its fiscal system, because an experiment once begun could not be reversed. Alfred Deakin, the distinguished Australian statesman and political philosopher, replied that Australia constantly made experiments, and if the results were disappointing, would reverse the policy. Australia will entrust a Board of Commissioners with extensive and indefinite powers, confident that they will be used fairly and in the public interest. In the United States, however, as the interests of the different States are often conflicting, it appears difficult to entrust executive powers to a board of individuals, for they are apt to be accused of corruption or personal motives by States to whom their policy is detrimental. The United States therefore prefers rigid acts of Congress which leave no room for the consideration of individual cases; and this tendency may prove a serious difficulty in the establishment of a sound immigration system. If, however, the factors on which the desirability of certain nations as immigrants were to be carefully determined by an independent international Institute, regulations could be devised under which wider powers of individual selection might be left to the United States Immigration Commission.

In consideration of the exceptionally high average of quality of the land of the United States it could support a much larger population, and thereby help to redress the minority of the white race. The time when the population of the United States will so press upon its mean of sub-

sistence that immigration should lower the natural increase is not yet remotely approached. Even if the estimates that the population at the end of this century will have almost doubled, and be about 200,000,000, that density of 75 per square mile would be far below the amount the country should comfortably maintain. The United States, provided it make adequate effort to secure the assimilation of the immigrants, could for an indefinite period safely allow an annual immigration of 300,000 Europeans. This estimate recognizes that the States have in the past let in more immigrants than it has assimilated, and that a reduction in the rate is advisable, at least until the former excess has been absorbed.

### NEW ZEALAND

No reference has been made to New Zealand or South Africa as countries for immigration, for their influence on the main problem must be small.

New Zealand is one of those happy lands which has no troublesome migration problems. It has one of the highest natural rates of increase among the countries of the world, and though its population density of fourteen per square mile would be counted as low in Europe, it is higher than any State of Australia except Victoria, and considering that New Zealand in 1858 had a population of only 60,000 (exclusive of Maoris), and that it has a high proportion of mountainous country, its population of 1,218,913 in 1921, and its annual increase during the five years from 1916-21 of 2.42 per cent, are a remarkable success.

New Zealand has no vast empty plains like Australia to rouse the envy of overcrowded lands. It will therefore no doubt continue its independent development free from reproach by the great emigration countries that it is keeping idle land that could maintain many millions of settlers. Owing to economic depression in New Zealand immigration has been temporarily suspended from May, 1927,

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except for some schoolboys, domestics, and farm workers. Its excess of arrivals over departures in the years 1922–24 were respectively 7402, 7368, and 9706. It should be able to receive annually about 8000–10,000 immigrants.

### SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is also a country of which the emigration policy attracts little attention. Its great native population precludes extensive European immigration, for there is little room in the country for immigrant artisans, and none for the unemployed of the European cities. The immigration of farmers with capital is greatly desired, but their number is few, and they are expected to add to the ranks of the European governing class who employ coloured labour. The following figures for recent immigration into South Africa show that it cannot act as the host to any substantial part of European emigration.

New arrivals<sup>6</sup> :—

1919	.	.	.	.	9,038
1920	.	.	.	.	22,095
1921	.	.	.	.	20,933
1922	.	.	.	.	13,235
1923	.	.	.	.	11,641

Nationality of the immigrants in 1923 :—

United States	.	.	.	326
Belgian	.	.	.	990
Dutch	.	.	.	174
German	.	.	.	315
Italian	.	.	.	139
Portuguese	.	.	.	75
Russian	.	.	.	86
Norwegian	.	.	.	193
Lithuanian	.	.	.	790
British	.	.	.	9,712

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12,800<sup>7</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> In E. Lord, J. J. D. Trenor, and S. J. Barrow, "Italians in America," 1905, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. R. Davie, "Constructive Immigration Policy," 1923, p. 8; also the quotation from D. C. Brewer, on p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> H. Van Dyke, "The Spirit of America," 1910, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> L. Stoddard, "Reforging America," 1927, pp. 324-5.

<sup>5</sup> For statistics from Insurance Companies, see "Menace of Colour," 1925, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> South Africa Year Book, No. 7, for 1924. 1925, p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139. The excess of this figure over that in the list above must be due to inclusion of some who have returned to South Africa.

## CHAPTER XVII

# How can the European Need for Emigration be satisfied without International Communism ?

“To prevent overcrowding would be the first work of a rightly educational State system. To see that baby, boy, and man had everywhere their Play-grounds.

“Imagine all the energies and resources we now spend for war, spent in energetic, adventurous, lovingly national colonization—fighting with ice, with desert, and with sea. Binding sand, breaking ice, building floating gardens—instead of ships of the line.

“And for many a day to come, you would not have men, nor women, nor children *enough* for your work. . . .”

RUSKIN, 1873.

### A. THE NUMERICAL PROBLEM

EMIGRATION is not the only way in which unemployment in Europe may be reduced. The population of England and Wales has grown from 12,000,000 in 1820 to 38,000,000 in 1920 ; and this enormous increase has been rendered possible by many inventions, and high skill in administration. The maintenance of so dense a population at the beginning of the last century would have been impossible. Steam ocean transport brings in food and raw materials from abroad, and the invention of machinery has turned much of England and southern Scotland into a factory. Further inventions might render possible another large increase in the supporting power of the British Isles, and by the growth of our export trade keep all the people in full employment. Progress on these lines is the ideal.

The most valuable raw material produced in the British Isles is the brain power of the people, and the ideal development is obviously its use, to as large an extent as possible, in the country, as to work up other raw materials into manufactured goods. The emigration of people is economically as disadvantageous to an industrial country as the export of iron ore and pig iron.

Estimates such as those of Sir Charles Close<sup>1</sup> that the British population is several millions too many, assumes the continuance of the existing economic conditions. They are at present unfavourable to an increase of British manufacturing output, for the impoverishment of many of our chief customers by the War has not only reduced their purchasing power, but in other places the stimulus to manufacture, owing to the inability to purchase the necessary goods during the War, has reduced the demand for British manufactures. The increase, however, in the Overseas demand for British goods, even if it come, will inevitably be slow, and though it may reduce the need for emigration it would not afford prompt relief. Emigration may not be a complete or the only cure for the existing evils, but it is the most certain as far as it goes and the most capable of immediate application.<sup>2</sup>

The present British over-population, even if taken at the high estimate of 2,250,000, is not above remedy by emigration. The problem is reduced by the fact that it primarily concerns male workers. If an adequate number of them emigrate, the women and children follow automatically, although women for domestic service are also welcomed as independent immigrants.

The annual increase of the British population by 300,000 has also to be remembered, and some portion of that should be covered by emigration. The 2,250,000 excess would include—judging by the Census of 1911 so as to avoid the abnormal conditions of 1921—about 480,000 males of the working ages of 15 to 64, both inclusive. An



annual emigration of 48,000 would deal with the existing excess in ten years. An annual addition of somewhat less than 100,000 males of the working age has also to be provided for; but a large proportion of this addition belongs to classes which would be provided for by the increasing non-industrial occupations. An annual emigration of 150,000 men, with that of 100,000 women and children, would in ten years remove the present excess and the annual increment. That amount should be quite practicable.

The United States permanent quota under the 1924 Act<sup>3</sup> allots an annual immigration of 73,039 from Great Britain and northern Ireland, and 13,862 from the Irish Free State, or a British total of 86,901 per annum. The Australian official settlement scheme is calculated to introduce the entrance of 45,000 assisted settlers a year, and with the moderate estimate of an extra 15,000 nominated and independent immigrants the Australian total should be at least 60,000 per annum. Canada in 1925-26 accommodated 27,050 British immigrants, and would no doubt welcome a larger proportion of British and would receive over 50,000. British immigration into these three countries would be 197,000 per annum. The rest of the 250,000 could be provided for in New Zealand, South Africa, India, and other parts of the British Empire, and by the steady migration of British merchants, administrators, and engineers, at least for their working life, to other parts of the world. Other countries are more ready to receive British settlers than they are to go.

For the rest of Europe—excluding the Russian States which could colonize Siberia with great benefit alike to it, to the emigrant countries, and to the world at large—another 250,000 would maintain the recent amount of migration, due allowance being made for repatriation and immigration. The United States under the 1924 Act was ready to receive annually 160,000 Europeans, in addition to

the British, quite apart from the 175,000 who have been smuggled into the country, and should not be overlooked when considering the actual relief afforded by migration.

The number may be reduced to 63,000, and it must not, however, be overlooked that there is an active party in the United States which regards the present quota as only a temporary concession. An amendment was introduced into the United States Congress in 1927 to limit the maximum quota of any country to 25,000, which would reduce that from Great Britain and north Ireland from 86,900, and reduce the British outlet by 60,000 a year. Others hope for the complete suppression of immigration. This policy is advocated by no less weighty an authority than Mr. Andrew Johnson, a Representative of California in Congress and chairman of the United States Immigration Committee. In his introduction to Professor Garis' book Mr. Johnson expresses his view of the evil effects of immigration on the United States, and declares that "the day of unalloyed welcome to all peoples, the day of indiscriminate acceptance of all races, has definitely ended." In later speeches in Congress he goes further. On the 8th February, 1927, he said that the immigrants are not inspired by the traditions of the United States, and he attributed some regrettable changes in manners, morals, and culture, including the vulgarization of the drama, the lowering of the standard in the schools, and the deterioration in the Press, to the influence of the alien immigrants. He predicted that the restriction policy of the United States would be strengthened instead of being relaxed. In a subsequent speech in Congress (3rd March, 1927) on the National Origins Clause of the 1924 Act, he objected to it owing to the uncertainty of its numerical basis; he urged that the sound policy was not to turn from one numerical plan to another, but to apply immigration restriction to America as well as the Old World, and to advance as

rapidly as possible toward the complete elimination of all immigration.

The disadvantages to the industrial States of further reduction of their unskilled labour render it doubtful whether the United States will follow the lead of the Californian representative and by the further reduction of European immigration increase the inflow to the Northern States of the Negro and the Mexican peon.<sup>4</sup>

Canada last year received 75,000 non-British Europeans ; the Argentine has often received 150,000, and Brazil 300,000 immigrants ; and in both countries they have been practically all from the Continent of Europe.

These three countries, with 63,000 into the United States, and Mexico, with net immigrations in 1924 and 1925 of 56,970 and 45,579 respectively, could accommodate a total of 600,000 per annum.

By emigration on those lines Siberia would be occupied by the European race and probably become a purchaser of large quantities of European goods in exchange for supplies of food and raw materials ; the Argentine would become increasingly European, and the Negro-Indian proportion in the population of Brazil and other Southern American States would be lowered by the steady inflow of European blood.

## B. THE ETHICAL PROBLEM

That there is ample room in the world suitable for European settlement is obvious, since practically the whole of America has a population of less than forty persons to the square mile, and there are large regions where the population is about two per square mile. It is also indubitable that the United States has in the past received a larger number of immigrants than is necessary to allay the pressure of population in Europe. The desired overflow from Europe could unquestionably be accommodated by the great immigration countries. The problem is whether



they will admit it in view of their increase in alien groups, the failure of so many of the immigrants to become assimilated to the national character, and fear of the lowering of standards of wages and the weakening of national unity.

The objections of the countries which can receive large streams of immigration will not be overcome by claims based on such principles of international communism as that nations which increase in number beyond the capacity of their own country have the right to demand unlimited admission to the land of a more self-restrained and cautious nation. The improvident have no more inherent right internationally than individually to the property of the prudent. Those who recklessly obey the injunction to replenish the earth should not expect unlimited entry to a land which has been laboriously and expensively subdued by one people as a home for its own descendants and culture. Nations which multiply beyond their means of subsistence have no more claim to the land of other people than a man with a large family and a small house has to share the home of a wealthy brain worker whose small family occupies a big mansion. No solution is possible on the lines of international communism, the effect of which would be in a few centuries the spreading of the evils of over-population throughout the habitable world.

Countries which have opened up new territories have the prior right to them, and to restrict immigration to an amount not greater than can be reasonably absorbed.

The limitation of immigration is justified by six considerations.

1. Every nation has the right to protect itself from deterioration by racial intermixture. That principle is now so generally admitted that inter-racial immigration has practically ceased.

2. Every country has the right to prevent that lowering

of its standards of life that would inevitably result from the unrestricted entry of people who live at a lower stage of culture. The principles of the British Empire grant every self-governing part of it the right to control the composition of its population. A resolution adopted at the Imperial Conference, July, 1918, asserts that "it is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any other communities."

3. A country can only absorb immigrants at a rate which is comparatively slow, especially for agricultural and pastoral areas, for which successful immigration is dependent upon careful and costly preparation. This fact is recognized by the British Empire Settlement Act which is arranging for the expenditure of £34,000,000 in preparing land for immigration.

4. The pioneers who have done the rough work in subduing a waste land may justly claim that a fair proportion of it shall be available for their own people and descendants.

5. As there are large areas of fertile well-watered land which are uninhabitable or sparsely occupied, nations with a large surplus of population should do their share of bringing under cultivation the unused land in their own continents before they can expect free admission to a country that another people has subdued primarily for the benefit of its own nationality.

6. Immigration into a country should not be so fast as to imperil its markets by over-production of raw materials.

The countries which carry less than their fair share of population have therefore the right to resist the claim to unrestricted immigration. They are not, however, justified

in a dog-in-the-manger policy regarding their land. The countries which, owing to overcrowding, are burdened with unemployment, may reasonably expect a sympathetic attitude from countries which have more room. The restriction of immigration into sparsely peopled areas which are suitable for European occupation can only be justified within limits necessary to safeguard the well-being of the existing inhabitants.

No country has made the land it occupies. The people of the United States, Canada, and Australia hold their present territories because they could make better use of them than the aborigines they displaced. Human history shows that the higher civilization has always taken over from the less civilized the areas necessary for its expansion. The universality of that process provides its justification. Human progress has been, in fact, dependent upon it, and the process has often proceeded automatically and, so far as national movements are concerned, often unconsciously.

Some modern restrictionists adopt an attitude in pathetic contrast to the generous sympathy of the earlier policy and declare that the only consideration is the welfare of the immigrant country. Lothrop Stoddard<sup>5</sup> warns Europe: "For remember: no foreigner has any 'right' whatsoever to enter America. This admission is a *privilege* extended to him solely because we think he can benefit America." What right have the restrictionists to be in America? The justification for the European occupation is that the Indians made inadequate use of the land; and while America north of Mexico has an average population of 15½ per square mile, have the descendants of those who displaced the American Indians the ethical right to deny entry, on fair terms and in reasonable numbers, to that European overflow of which their ancestors were the pioneers?

The permanent policy of the United States may, and it is to be hoped will, follow the statesmanlike utterance of



President Coolidge in the statement of policy in his Message to Congress on 8th December, 1925 ; he defended some restriction on immigration so that "we may not have a larger annual increment of good people within our borders than we can weave into our economic fabric in such a way as to supply their needs without undue injury to ourselves." If the United States adopts President Coolidge's principle and, not unheedful of the needs of others, will allow such immigration as it can absorb without undue injury to itself, it will take a sufficient share of the European emigrants to avert the over-pressure of population in Europe.

The obligation rests on the communities which hold more land than they can use, to allow other people to share in its development. The policy of breaking up the large sheep and cattle stations in Australia and New Zealand and converting them into farms by closer settlement was fully justified in equity and by its practical success. And this policy may be applied to countries as well as to estates.

The four countries under European control which have the largest areas of unoccupied land under climates similar to those of parts of Europe, and therefore offer great fields for European immigration, are Siberia, Australia, Canada, and the Argentine. The popular impression of Siberia is of an inaccessible frozen waste, habitable only by nomadic tribes like the Lapps. This view is no doubt true at present for the northern plains. Until they are drained they will remain infertile, and their drainage is not within range of practical politics. Southern Siberia, on the other hand, includes on both sides of the Siberian Railway vast tracks of excellent land which is easily accessible. The climate in the northern part of this belt is similar to that of parts of Canada ; but further south the conditions are less severe, the climate is like that of the northern United States, and this belt is thoroughly suitable for European residents. Southern Siberia could, if adequately opened,

accommodate for a long period the bulk of the immigration from eastern Europe.

Russia, moreover, while restricting emigration, is encouraging immigration from the Slav and other East European States and of returned Russians, by a permanent committee established in November, 1922. It has control of 600,000 acres of land available for immigrants. The committee has imported tools and machinery; and the immigrants would only be given holdings if they had some capital, but they were being aided by reduced fares, exemption from custom duties, and the right to pay taxes in kind.

Canada and Australia, the two emptiest areas in the British Empire, have large tracts not yet within reach of railways. Canada is greatly hampered by the severity of its winter and Australia by the withering effect of the dry season. In view of these handicaps the growth of population has not been unduly slow in either Dominion.

Canada is now embarrassed by a heavy railway burden, which it cannot be expected to increase materially until the good land in private ownership near the railways has been adequately developed. Immigrants are arriving at the rate of over 100,000 per annum, and this amount may be increased as extra room is made for them owing to the great emigration from Canada into the United States. It is not unreasonable to Canada to admit from 100,000 to 150,000 European emigrants a year. It gives preference to those from the British Isles, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Scandinavia. There is no doubt that it would welcome as high a proportion of British immigrants as it could obtain. The number of immigrants from Russia and the former Russian States is increasing.

The Australian immigration position is more complex than that of Canada. The country has been making steady progress and it has set up an unusually high standard of life and comfort. In fact, it appears the country which

offers the possibility of the development of a higher type than the European race has yet produced. This experiment should not be jeopardised by precipitate expansion for the temporary benefit of countries occupied by less far-seeing people.

<sup>1</sup> C. Close, "Population and Migration," "Geography," XIV, 1927, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The urgent need for extensive emigration from the South Wales coal-field was declared in "The Times" on the 10th of December, 1927.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. III.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Mon. Rec. Migr.," II, 1927, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> L. Stoddard, "Reforging America," 1927, p. 600. "Mon. Notes Migr.," No. 42, 1926, p. 88.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### Conclusion

**T**HE rapid increase in the population of the world, which has been the most influential political factor during the last century, may be adjusted in the future as in the past by inventions and discoveries that increase the productive capacity of the land. This development may however be so slow, owing to the impoverishment and international rancour left by the Great War, that Europe is left for a time dependent on emigration as the only prompt and reliable cure for unemployment due to over-population. An adequate field for emigration from Eastern Europe is provided by the fresh advance of Siberia ; western and central Europe requires, to relieve its annual increase of population, an outlet overseas of from 300,000 to 500,000 emigrants a year, and therefore needs continued admission to the countries which have hitherto received the European overflow.

The British Isles, owing to the failure of its industries to continue their expansion adequately to the growth of population, needs an emigration of 100,000 a year to deal with the current increase ; and as the present excess over the number that the industries can maintain in comfort is probably over two million—Sir Charles Close says several million—an extra emigration of another 150,000 or 200,000 is required if our working population and field of employment are to be balanced within ten years or so.

The amount of European migration necessary varies with the economic prosperity of the world. Every increase in

income from abroad adds to the capacity of the British Isles to maintain a non-productive population ; and our migration needs are dependent on the welfare of the countries overseas. Hence the figures quoted are approximations, and are liable to sudden change with the vicissitudes of trade.

The emigration needs of west and central Europe under present conditions may be estimated at about 500,000 to 600,000, and they may be met by the normal development of the British Empire, the United States, and South America ; but if the industrial and economic recovery of Europe continues to be slow the necessary emigration may exceed the accommodation available unless the chief immigration countries are willing to receive larger numbers than they are at present prepared to admit.

The prospects of migration are rendered uncertain by the strong national sentiments that have upgrown in Europe since the War, and by the dread among the Continental nations of the loss of man-power ; for that fear is inspiring policies to keep all male emigrants available for military service. The great immigrant countries are at the same time increasingly nervous lest their racial and political unity should be imperilled by the entry of foreigners who may remain as unassimilable alien colonies.

The only conditions under which a country can be expected to admit those who intend to remain aliens are either, as in the case of France, for temporary residence of neighbours, or under indentures for a term of years and with strictly limited rights.

Emigrants cannot expect to enter another country and enjoy all the privileges of a young and growing community without sharing its responsibilities.

Dismay at the extent to which the immigrants have kept aloof from the life of the nation and have even remained ignorant of its language, has driven the United States into measures that were expected to reduce immigration to a

twelfth of the former amount. Suspicion that alien immigrants may refuse to become Australian and may seriously hamper the development of the country, in accordance with British traditions, has led the Australian Government to take power to exclude any class that proves unassimilable. A draft migration treaty between Italy and Brazil was not concluded, as some of the proposals for the protection of immigrants were regarded as inconsistent with the sovereignty of Brazil in its own land. No country is prepared to admit large numbers of aliens and give them full political rights unless they are to be woven into its national and economic life.

Immigrants who are prepared to become citizens of their adopted country may rely on a hospitable and generous welcome. For example, the group settlers in Australia receive a gift of 160 acres of land, free or practically free passages from England and free railway transport, they are trained in suitable methods of agriculture, and are meanwhile maintained by wages paid them for clearing and preparing their own land ; they are provided with schools and medical service, and the settlers, both men and women, have full political rights and votes. Canada offers corresponding privileges. A State cannot be expected to incur such expenditure unless the settlers are willing to become its citizens in fact as well as in name.

If the conditions of migration can be adjusted, there is ample room in the world for all needful European emigration. That fact is obvious from the comparisons of the population density in Europe of 123 per square mile with that of other continents, such as North and Central America of 18 (United States, 38 ; Canada, 2.5) ; South America, 9 ; Australia, 2.0. And though the countries that have large areas of sparsely occupied land are suspicious of immigration, those feelings might be overcome by their combined sense of fair-play to the overcrowded communities and the advantages to themselves of a larger population.



The United States may be forced by the requirements of its growing industries to continue the admission of European unskilled labour; otherwise it is faced with the alternatives of a large illegitimate entry, which would bring in the least desirable type of European, or of the introduction to the north-eastern industrial States of increasing numbers of Negroes from the Southern States, Mexican half-breeds, and immigrants from South America and the West Indies. California, with its traditional anti-immigration policy and the agricultural States into which alien immigration is at present negligible, may not be able to enforce on the north-eastern States a policy which would hamper their industries by serious shortage of labour. The closure of the frontier to alcoholic liquor has proved difficult; and the exclusion of men who can actively co-operate in the smuggling operations may be impossible without measures that would introduce difficulties between the industrial States and those that do not need immigration.

Canada must continue to welcome immigrants, as more people would render the railway deficit a less heavy burden.

Australia, while under-populated, has the menace, not so much of armed invasion from Asia, but of the commercial competition that would follow the Asiatic development of the adjacent islands, and of the cheapened production in the Argentine that would result from its closer settlement.

Europe, moreover, may fairly expect reasonable admission to areas under European control that are suitable for white settlement, in order that the European race may not be forced to methods of birth control that would increase its numerical inferiority to the coloured races. President Coolidge has stated as the United States policy of immigration the admission of aliens to the extent of their needs, and to the number that may be admitted without injury to the United States. So long as that principle be accepted

the United States will admit its share of an immigration that would satisfy the legitimate needs of Europe. Immigrants who claim entry to other lands on the ground of the unity of mankind cannot reasonably expect admission on lines inconsistent with the unity of the nation that provides them with a home and a richer freer life.





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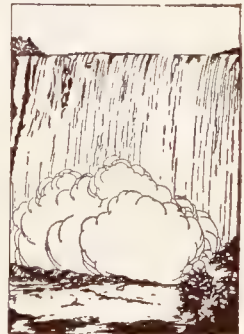
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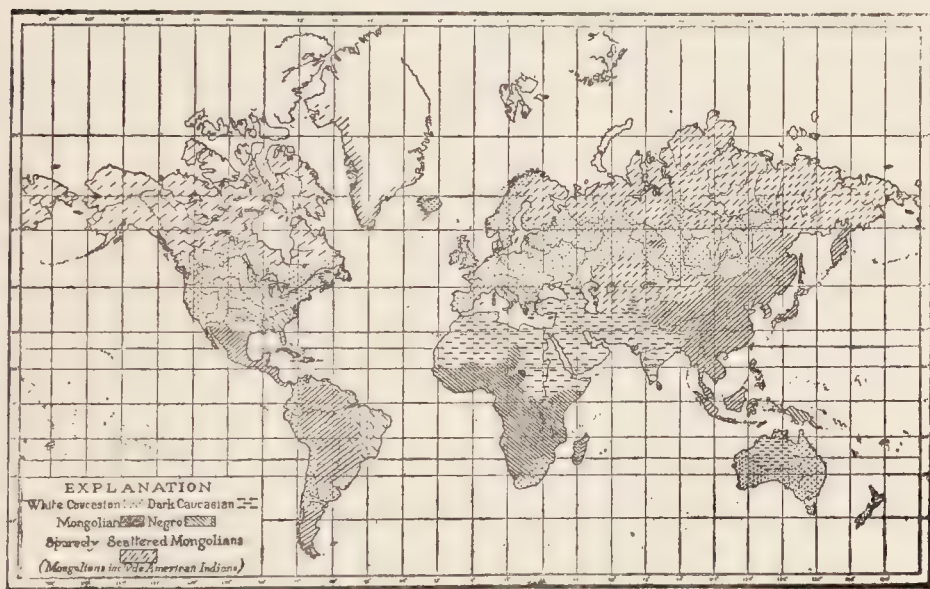
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